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*Received, May, 1873.*

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DANIEL'S (Samuel) First Foure Bookes of the Civile Wars  
 between the Houses of Lancaster and Yorke, to which is  
 added, the Fifth Booke, *FIRST EDITIONS of these inter-*  
*esting Historical Poems, remarkably fine copy, 4to. mo-*  
*rocco elegant, 4l. 4s.* - - - 1595

T. 10170c  
 1884

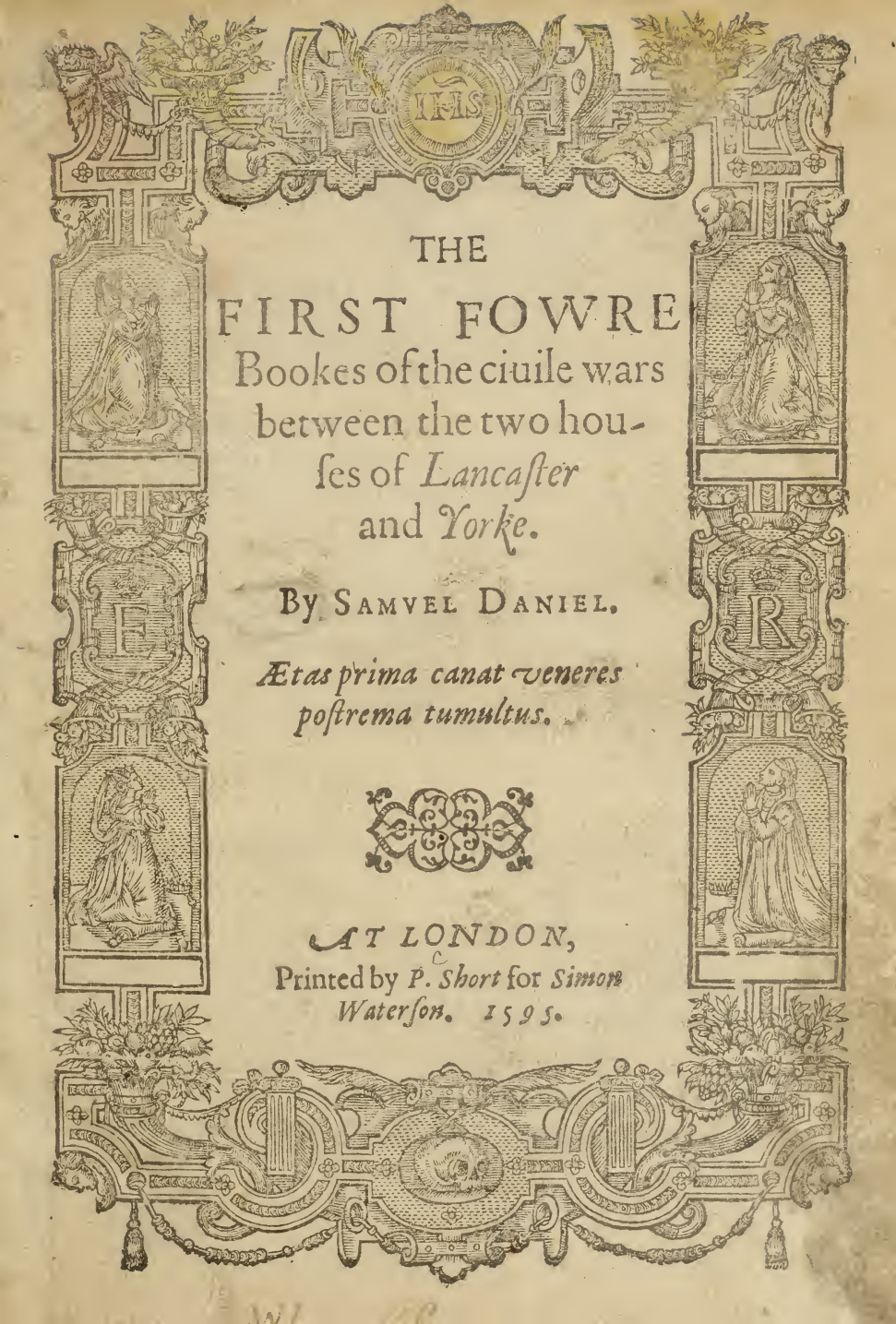
"The first four books are by no means of uncommon occurrence, and the fifth, which was subsequently printed, is extremely rare. After this, Daniel re-commenced the whole work, and published it in 1609, with so many changes and additions, that scarcely any ten lines remain the same. The 8th, 9th, 10th, 15th, and 49th stanzas of this rare Fifth Book were not reprinted."—See *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*.



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THE  
FIRST FOWRE  
Bookes of the ciuile wars  
between the two hou-  
ses of *Lancaster*  
and *Yorke*.

By SAMVEL DANIEL.

*Ætas prima canat Veneres  
postrema tumultus.*



AT LONDON,  
Printed by P. Short for Simons  
Waterfon. 1595.

149,303

May, 1873

THE NATIONAL BANK



NEW YORK  
THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1873  
1873





THE ARGUMENT OF THE FIRST BOOKE.

*What times forgoe Richard the seconds raigne :  
The fatal causes of this ciuile warre  
His Vnckles pride, his greedie Minions gaine,  
Glosters reuolt, and death deliuered are :  
Herford ascusd, exild, call'd backe againe,  
Pretends t' amend what others Rule did marre.  
The King from Ireland, hastes but did no good,  
Whilst strange prodigious signes foretoken bloud.*

I

**I** Sing the ciuil warrs, tumultuous broyles,  
And bloody factions of a mighty land:  
Whose people hauty, proud with forain spoyles  
Vpon themselues, turne back their conquering hand:  
Whilst Kin their Kin, brother the brother foyles,  
Like Ensignes all against like Ensignes band:  
Bowes against bowes, the Crowne against the crowne,  
whilst all pretending right, all right throwen downe.

B

What

2

What furie, ô what madnes held you so  
 Deare people to too prodigall of bloud?  
 To wast so much and warre without a foe,  
 Whilst *France* to see your spoyles, at pleasure stood;  
 How much might you haue purchas'd with lesse wo?  
 Th'haue done you honor and your Nephewes good,  
 Yours might haue beene what euer lies betweene  
 The *Perenei* and *Alps*, *Aquitayne*, and *Rheine*.

3

And yet ô God wee haue no cause to plaine  
 Since hereby came, the quiet calme we ioye  
 The blisse of thee *ELIZA*, happie gaine  
 For all our losse; for that no other waye  
 The heauens could find, then vnite againe  
 The fatall seu' red families; that they  
 Might bring forth thee; that in thy peace might grow  
 That glory which no age could euer show.

4

O sacred Goddesse, I no muse but thee  
 Invoke in this great worke I now entend,  
 Do thou inspire my thoughts, infuse in mee  
 A power to bring the same to happie end:  
 Raife vp a worke for latter times to see  
 That may thy glorie and my paines commend:  
 Strengthen thy subiect strang thinges to rehearse  
 And giue peace to my life, life to my verse.

And

5

And thou *Charles Mountioy* borne the worldes  
 That hast receiu'd into thy quiet shore (delight,  
 Me tempest-driuen fortune-tossed wight,  
 T'ir'd with expecting and could hope no more:  
 And cheereft on my better yeares to write  
 A sadder Subiect then I tooke before,  
 Receiue the worke I consecrate to thee  
 Borne of that rest which thou dost giue to mee.

6

And MEMORIE, preferuressse of thinges done,  
 Come thou, vnfold the wounds, the wracke, the wast,  
 Reueale to me how all the strife begunne  
 Twixt *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* in ages past.  
 How causes, counsels and euent did runne  
 So long as these vnhappy times did last,  
 Vnintermixt with fictions, fantasies;  
 I versifie the troth, not poetize.

7

And to the end we maie with better ease  
 Iudge the true progresse; here bigin to shoue  
 What weare the times foregoing nere to thease,  
 That these we maie with better profit knowe:  
 Tell how the world fell into this disease  
 And how so great distemperature did growe,  
 So shall we see by what degrees it came  
 How thinges grown full, do sone grow out of frame.

Ten kings had now raignd of the *Norman* race  
 With variable fortune turning chaunce,  
 All in two hundreth sixtie one yeares space,  
 When *Edward* third of name and first of *Fraunce*  
 Possesst the crowne in fortunes highest grace;  
 And did to greatestt state, his state aduance,  
 When *England* might the largest limits see  
 That euer any king attaind but hee.

For most of all the rest, toyld in vnrest  
 What with wrong titles, what with inward broyl,  
 Hardlie a true establishment possesst  
 Of what they sought with such exceeding toyle:  
 For why their power within it self opprest, (while;  
 Scarce could breake forth to greatnes al that  
 Such wo the childhood of this state did passe  
 Before it could attaine to what it wasse.

*William*  
*the Con-*  
*querour.* For first the *Norman* conquering all by might,  
 By might was forst to keepe what hee had got:  
 Altring the lawes, chaunging the forme of *Right*,  
 And placing barbarous Customes he had brought:  
 Maistring the mighty, humbling the poorer wight  
 With grieuous taxes tyranie had sought,  
 Scarce laide th'assured groundes to build vpon  
 The change so hatefull in such course begon.

william

## II

*William* his sonne tracing the selfesame wayes  
 The great outworne with war, or slaine in peace  
 Onely vpon depressed weakenes prayes,  
 And treads down what was likeliest to increase,  
 Those that were left, being left to wofull daies,  
 Had onely powre to wish for some release:  
 whilst giuing beastes what did to men pertaine  
 Tooke for a beast himselve was after slaine.

*Williams  
 Rufus.*

## I 2

*Henrie* his brother raignes when he had donne  
 (who *Roberts* title better to reiect)  
 The *Norman Duke* the Conquerours first sonne,  
 Lightens in shew, rather then in effect  
 Those greeuances, his fatall race begunne  
 Reformes the lawes which soone he did neglect:  
 Whose sons being drownd for whō he did prepare  
 Leaues crowne & strif to *Maud* his daughters care.

*Henry 1.*

## I 3

Whom *Stephen* his Nephew (falsifying his oath)  
 Preuents; assailes the Realm; obtaines the crown:  
 Raising such tumults as torment them both  
 Whil' st both held nothing certainlie their owne.  
 Th' afflicted Realme deuided in their troth,  
 And partiall faith; most miserable growne,  
 Endures the while; till peace and *Stephens* death  
 Conclude some hope, of quiet; to take breath.

*King  
 Stephen.*

*Henry 2.* The sonne of *Maud* (from *Saxon* bloud deriu'd  
 By mothers line) succeeds th'vnrightfull king  
*Henrie* the second, in whose raigne reuiu'd  
 Th'oppressed state, and first began to spring,  
 And ô if he had not beene too long liu'd  
 T'haue seene th'affliction that his age did bring  
 By his vngodly sonnes; then happie man,  
 For they against him warr'd, for whom hewan

All *Ireland*, *Scotland*, th'Isles of *Orcades*,  
*Poytiers*, *Guienna*, *Brittany* hee got,  
 And leades forth sorrow from it selfe to thease,  
 Recouers strength at home so feeble brought:  
 Giues courage to the strong, to weaker ease;  
 Ads to the state what *England* neuer sought:  
 Who him succeed (the forraine bloud out growne)  
 Are home born kings by speech and birth our owne.

Lo hitherto the new borne state in teares  
 Was in her raw and wayling infancie,  
 During a hundred two and twentie yeares  
 Vnder the hand of straungers tyranny:  
 And now some better strength and youth appears  
 Which promises a glad recouery:  
 For hard beginnings haue the greatest states  
 What with their owne, or neighbourers debates.

17

Euen like to *Rheine* which in his birth opprest,  
 Strangled almost with rocks and mightie hills,  
 Workes out a way to come to better rest,  
 Wars with the mountaines, striues against their wils:  
 Bringes forth his streames in vnitie possrest  
 Into the quiet bed he proudlie fils,  
 Carrying that greatnes which he cannot keepe  
 Vnto his death and buriall in the deepe:

18

So did the worldes proud *Mistres Rome* at first  
 Striue with a hard beginning, warr'd with need;  
 Forcing her strong Confiners to the worst,  
 And in her bloud her greatnes first did breed:  
 So *Spaine* at home with *Moores* ere forth it burst  
 Did practize long and in it selfe did bleed;  
 So did our state begin with her owne woundes  
 To try her strength ere it enlarg'd her boundes.

19

But now comes *Richard* to succeed his fire,  
 Who much the glorie of our armes increast,  
 His fathers limits bound not his desire  
 He spreads the English Ensignes in the East:  
 And whilst his vertues would haue raisd him hyer  
 Treason, and malice his great actions ceast:  
 A faithles brother and a fatall king  
 Cut off his growth of glory in the spring.

*Rich. 2.*

Which

*K. Iohn.* Which wicked brother contrarie to course  
 False *John* vsurpes his *Nephew Arthurs* right,  
 Gets to the crowne by craft, by wrong, by force,  
 Rules it with lust, oppression, rigor, might:  
 Murders the lawfull heire without remorse,  
 Wherefore procuring all the worldes despight,  
 A Tyrant loth'd, a homicide conuented  
 Poysoned he dies, disgrac'd and vnlamented.

*Henry 3:* *Henrie* his sonne is chosfen king, though young  
 And *Lewes* of *Fraunce* (elected first) beguilde,  
 After the mightie had debated long,  
 Doubtfull to choose a straunger or a child:  
 With him the Barons (in these times grown strōg)  
 Warre for their auncient lawes so long exild.  
 He graunts the *Charter* that pretended ease  
 And kept his owne, yet did his owne appease.

*Edwa. 1.* *Edward* his sonne a martiall king succedes  
 Iust, prudent, graue, religious, fortunate:  
 Whose happy ordred raigne most fertile breeds  
 Plentie of mightie spirits to strength his state,  
 And worthy mindes, to manage worthy deeds  
 Th'experience of those times ingenerate:  
 For euer great imployment for the great  
 Quickens the bloud and honour doth beget.

And



23

And had not his mis-lead lasciuious sonne  
*Edward* the second, intermitted so  
 The course of glorie happilie begunne  
 Which brought him, and his fauorites to woe:  
 That happy current without stop had runne  
 Vnto the full of his sonne *Edwards* flo:  
 But who hath often seene in such a state,  
 Father and sonne like good, like fortunate.

*Edwards.*

24

But now this great succeder all repaires,  
 And rebrings-backe that discontinued good,  
 He buildes vp strength and greatnes for his heires  
 Out of the vertues that adorn'd his bloud:  
 He makes his subiects Lords of more then theirs,  
 And sets their bounds farre wider then they stood:  
 Could greatnes haue but kept what he had gote  
 It was enough he did, and what he wrought.

*Edwards.*

25

And had his heire surui'd him in due course,  
 What limits England hadst thou found, what barre?  
 What world could haue resisted so great force?  
 O more then men! two thunderbolts of warre,  
 Why did not time your ioin'd worth diuorse  
 T'haue made your seuerall glories greater farre?  
 Too prodigall was nature thus to doe,  
 To spend in one age, what should serue for two.

*Edward the  
black prince  
who died be-  
fore his fa-  
ther.*

C

But

*Rich. 2.*

But now the scepter in this glorious state  
 Supported with strong powre and victorie  
 Was left vnto a child, ordain'd by fate  
 To stay the course of what might grow too hie :  
 Here was a stop that greatnes. did abate  
 When powre vpon so weake a base did lie,  
 For lest great fortune should presume too farre  
 Such oppositions interposed are.

Neuer this Iland better peopled stood,  
 Neuer more men of might, and mindes adrest,  
 Neuer more Princes of the royall bloud,  
 (If not too many, for the publique rest)  
 Nor euer was more treasure, wealth and good,  
 Then when this *Richard* first the crowne possesst  
 Second of name, a name in two accurst,  
 And well we might haue mist all but the first.

In this mans raigne began this fatall strife  
 The bloody argument whereof we treat ;  
 That dearely cost so many' a Prince his life ;  
 That spoild the weake, & euen consum'd the great,  
 That, wherein all calamitie was rise  
 That memory euen grieues her to repeat (lose,  
 And would that time would now this knowledge  
 But that tis good to learne by others woes.

*Edward*

29

*Edward* the third being dead, had left this child  
 Sonne of his worthy sonne deceased of late  
 The crowne and Scepter of this Realme to wield,  
 Appointing the protectors of his state  
 Two of his sonnes to be his better shield,  
 Supposing vnckles free from guile or hate  
 Would order all things for his better good,  
 In the respect and honour of their blood.

30

Of these *John Duke of Lancaster* was one,  
 (Too great a subiect growne, for such a state  
 The title of a king and what h' had done  
 In great exploits his mind did eleuate  
 About proportion kingdomes stand vpon,  
 Which made him push at what his issue gate)  
 The other *Edmond Langley*, whose milde sprite  
 Affected quiet and a safe delight.

31

With these did interpose his proud vnrest  
 Thomas of woodstocke, one most violent,  
 Impatient of command, of peace, of rest, (ment:  
 Whose brow would shew, that which his hart had  
 His open malice and repugnant brest  
 Procur'd much mischief by his discontent:  
 And these had all the charge of king and state,  
 Till by himselfe he might it ordinate.

C 2.

And

And in the first yeares of this gouernement,  
 Things past, as first; the warres in *Fraunce* proceede:  
 Though not with that same fortune and euent  
 Being now not followed, with such carefull heed,  
 Our people here at home growne discontent  
 Through great exactions insurrections breed,  
 Priuate respectes hindred the common weale,  
 And idle ease doth on the mighty steale.

Too many kings breed factions in the court,  
 The head too weake, the members grown too great:  
 O this is that which kingdomes doth transport,  
 This plague the heauens do for iniustice threat:  
 When children rule, who euer in this sort  
 Confound the state their auncestors did get;  
 For the ambitious once inur'd to raigne  
 Can neuer brooke a priuate state againe.

And kingdomes euer suffer this distresse,  
 For one or manie guide the infant king,  
 Which one or manie, tasting this excesse  
 Of greatnes and command; can neuer bring  
 Their thoughts againe t'obay or to be lesse:  
 From hence these insolencies euer spring,  
 Contempt of others whom they seeke to toile,  
 Then follow leagues, destruction, ruine, spoile.

35

Whether it were that they which had the charge  
 Suffred the king to take a youthfull vaine,  
 That they their priuate better might inlarge:  
 Or whether he himselfe would farther straine  
 (Thinking his yeares sufficient to discharge  
 The gouernment)presumd to take the raigne,  
 We will not saie:but now his eare he lendes  
 To youthfull counsell, and his lusts attends.

36

And courts were neuer barren yet of those  
 Which could with subtile traine and apt aduise  
 Worke on the Princes weakenes, and dispose  
 Of feeble frailtie easiest to intice:  
 And such no doubt about this king arose,  
 Whose flattery (the daungerous nurse of vice)  
 Got hand vpon his youth to pleasures bent  
 Which lead by them did others discontent.

37

For now his vnckles grew much to mislike  
 These ill proceedings; were it that they saw,  
 That others fauor'd did aspiring seeke  
 Their nephew from their counsels to withdraw,  
 Seeing his nature flexible and mecke,  
 Because they onely would keepe all in awe:  
 Or that indeed they found the king and state  
 Abuse by such as now in office late.

C. 3.

Or

Or rather else they all were in the fault,  
 Th'ambitious vnckles, th'indiscreet young king,  
 The greedy counsell and the Minions naught,  
 And all together did this tempest bring;  
 Besides the times withall iniustice fraught,  
 Concurr'd in this confusd disordering,  
 That we may truly say this spoild the state;  
 Youthfull Counsell, priuate gaine, partiall hate.

And sure the king plainly discovereth  
 Apparant cause his vnckles to suspect;  
 For *John of Gaunt* was said to seeke his death  
 By secret meanes, which came not to effect:  
 The Duke of *Gloster* likewise practiseth  
 In open world that all men might detect  
 And leagues his Nobles, and in greatest strength  
 Rises in armes against him too at length.

Vnder pretence from him to take away  
 Such as they said the states oppressors weare,  
 To whom the Realme was now become a pray;  
 The chiefe of whom they nam'd was *Robert Vere*  
 Then Duke of Ireland; bearing greatest sway  
 About the king, who held him only dere,  
 Him they would haue remou'd and diuers more,  
 Or else would neuer lay downe armes they swore.

41

The king was forst in that next Parliamēt  
 To grant them what he durst not well refuse,  
 For thither arm'd they came and fully bent  
 To suffer no repulse nor no excuse:  
 And here they did accomplish their intent  
 Where iustice did her sword, not ballance vse:  
 For euen that sacred place they violate  
 And there areft the Iudges as they fate.

42

Which soone with many others had their end,  
 Cruelly slaine without the course of right,  
 And still these warres that publique good pretend  
 Worke most iniustice being done for spight:  
 For the agriued euermore doe bend  
 Against those whom they see of greatest might,  
 Who though themselues are wrong'd & often forst,  
 Yet for they can doe most are thought the worst.

43

And yet I doe not seeme herein to excuse  
 The Iustices, and Minions of the king  
 Which might their office and their grace abuse,  
 But onely blame the course of managing:  
 For great men too well grac'd much rigor vse;  
 Presuming favorites mischief euer bring;  
 So that concluding I may boldly speake,  
 Minions too great, argue a king too weake.

Now

44

Now that so much was granted as was sought,  
 A reconcilment made although not ment  
 Appeas'd them all in shew, but not in thought  
 Whilst euery one seem'd outwardlie content:  
 Though hereby king, nor peeres, nor people got  
 More loue, more strength, or easier gouernment;  
 But euery day things now succeeded worse,  
 For good from kings must not be drawne by force.

45

And this it lo continued till by chance (dy'de;  
 The Queene (which was the emperours daughter)  
 When as the king t'establish peace with *Fraunce*  
 And better for home quiet to prouide,  
 Sought by contracting marriage to aduance  
 His owne affaires against his vnckles pride:  
 Tooke the young daughter of king *Charles* to wife  
 Which after in the end rais'd greater strife.

46

For now his vnckle Gloster much repin'd  
 Against this french aliance and this peace,  
 Hauing himselfe a working stirring mind  
 Which neuer was content the warres should cease:  
 Whether he did dishonourable finde  
 Those articles that did our boundes decrease,  
 And therefore storm'd because the crown had wrōg;  
 Or that he fear'd the king would grow too strong;

Or



47

Or whatsoeuer mou'd him; this is sure  
 Hereby he wrought his ruine in the end,  
 And was a fatall cause that did procure  
 The swift approaching mischiefes that attend:  
 For lo the king no longer could indure  
 Thus to be crost in what he did intend,  
 And therefore watcht but some occasion fit  
 T'attach the Duke when he thought least of it.

48

And fortune now to further this intent  
 The great *Earle* of *S. Paule* doth hither bring,  
 From *Charles* of *Fraunce* vnto the young *Q.* sent  
 To see both her and to salute the king:  
 To whom he shewes his vnckles discontent  
 And of his secret dangerous practising,  
 How he his subiects sought to fulleuate  
 And breake the league with *Fraunce* concluded late.

49

To whom the futtle *Earle* forthwith replies,  
 Great Prince it is within your power with ease,  
 To remedy such feares, such ielousies,  
 And rid you of such mutiners as thease;  
 By cutting off that which might greater rise,  
 And now at first preuenting this disease,  
 And that before he shall your wrath disclose,  
 For who threates first means of reuenge doth lose.

D

First

First take his head, then tell the reason why,  
 Stand not to finde him guilty by your lawes,  
 Easier you shall with him your quarrell try  
 Dead then alue who hath the better cause:  
 For in the murmuring vulgar vsually  
 This publique course of yours compassion drawes,  
 Especially in cases of the great  
 Which worke much pitty in the vndiscreat.

And this is sure though his offence be such,  
 Yet doth calamitie attract commorse,  
 And men repine at Princes bloudshed much  
 How iust-soeuer iudging tis by force:  
 I know not how their death giues such a tuch  
 In those that reach not to a true discourse;  
 That so shall you obseruing formall right  
 Be still thought as vniust and win more spight.

And oft the cause, may come preuented so,  
 And therefore when tis done, let it be heard;  
 So shall you hereby scape your priuate wo  
 And satisfie the world to, afterward:  
 What need you weigh the rumors that shall go?  
 What is that breath being with your life compar'd?  
 And therefore if you will be rul'd by me  
 Strangled or poison'd secret let him be.

53

And then araigne the chiefe of those you find  
 Were of his faction secretly compact,  
 Whom you maie wisely order in such kind  
 That you maie such confessions then exact,  
 As both you maie appease the peoples mind  
 And by their death much aggrauate the fact:  
 So shall you rid your selfe of dangers quite  
 And shew the world that you haue done but right.

54

This counsell vtred vnto such an care  
 As willing listens to the safest waies,  
 Workes on the yeelding matter of his feare,  
 Which easelie to any course obeies:  
 For euerie Prince seeing his daunger neere  
 By anie meanes his quiet peace assaies:  
 And still the greatest wronges that euer were  
 Haue then bin wrought when kings were put in fear.

55

And long it was not ere he apprehendes  
 The Duke, who close to *Calice* was conuei'd,  
 And th' Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwike* sendes,  
 Both in close prisons strongly to be laid;  
 And soone the Duke his life vnquiet endes,  
 Strangled in secret ere it was bewraide;  
 And *Arundell* was put to publike death,  
 But *Warwike* by great meanes he banisheth.

D 2.

And

And for his person he procures a guard  
 A thousand Archers daily to attend,  
 Which now vpon the act he had prepard  
 As th'argument his actions to defend:  
 But yet the world had now conceiu'd so hard  
 That all this nought auaild him in the end:  
 In vaine with terror is he fortified  
 That is not guarded with firme loue beside.

Now storme his vnckles albeit in vaine,  
 For that no remedy they could deuise,  
 They might their sorrowes inwardly complaine,  
 But outwardly they needs must temporise:  
 The king was great, and they should nothing gaine  
 T'attempt reuenge or offer once to rise, (strong  
 This league with *Fraunce* had made him now so  
 That they must needs as yet indure this wrong.

For like a Lion that escapes his bounds  
 Hauing bin long restrained his vse to straie,  
 Raunges the restles woods, staies on no ground,  
 Riottes with bloudshed, wantons on his praie:  
 Seekes not for need but in his pride to wound,  
 Glorying to see his strength and what he may;  
 So this vnbridled king freed of his feares  
 In libertie himselfe thus wildly beares.

59

For standing on himfelfe he fees his might  
 Out of the compaffe of refpectiue awe,  
 And now beginnes to violate all right  
 While no restraining feare at hand he faw:  
 Now he exactes of all, wasts in delight,  
 Riots in pleasure, and neglects the law;  
 He thinks his crowne is licens'd to do ill  
 That lesse should list, that may do what it will.

60

Thus b'ing transported in this sensuall course  
 No frend to warne, no counsell to withstand,  
 He still proceedeth on from bad to worse,  
 Sooth'd in all actions that he tooke in hand  
 By such as all impiety did nurse,  
 Commending euer what he did commaund:  
 Vnhappy kings that neuer may be taught  
 To know themselues or to discern their fault.

61

And whilst all sylvant grieue at what is donne,  
 The Duke of Herford then of courage bold  
 And worthily great Iohn of *Gaunts* first sonne  
 Vtters the passion which he could not hold,  
 In sad discourse vpon this course begun,  
 Which he to *Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke told;  
 To th'end he being great about the king  
 Might doe some good by better counselling.

D 3.

The

*Froisart,  
Pol. Virg.  
& Hall, de  
liuer is in  
this sort,*

The faithles Duke that presentlie takes hold  
Of such aduantage to insinuate  
Hastes to the king, peruerting what was told,  
And what came of good minde he makes it hate:  
The king that might not now be so controlld  
Or censur'd in his course, much frets thereat;  
Sendes for the Duke, who doth such wordes deny  
And craues the combate of his enemy.

Which straight was granted, and the daie assign'd  
When both in order of the field appeare  
To right each other as th' euent should find,  
And now both euen at point of combate were  
When lo the king changd sodenly his mind,  
Casts downe his warder and so staies them there,  
As better now aduis'd what waie to take  
Which might for his assured safety make.

For now considering (as it likely might)  
The victorie should hap on *Herfords* side,  
A man most valiant and of noble sprite,  
Belou'd of all, and euer worthy tride:  
How much he might be grac'd in publique fight  
By such an act as might aduance his pride,  
And so become more popular by this,  
Which he feares, too much he already is.

And

65

And therefore he resolues to banish both,  
 Though th'one in chiefeft fauour with him stood,  
 A man he dearely lou'd and might be loth  
 To leaue him that had done him so much good:  
 Yet hauing cause to do as now he doth  
 To mitigate the enuie of his bloud,  
 Thought best to loose a friend, to rid a foe,  
 And such a one as now he doubted so.

66

And therefore to perpetuall exile hee  
*Moxbray* condemnes; *Herford* but for ten yeares:  
 Thinking (for that the wrong of this decree  
 Compar'd with greater rigour lesse appeares)  
 It might of all the better liked be:  
 But yet such murmuring of the fact he heares,  
 That he is faine foure of the ten forgiue,  
 And iudg'd him fixe yeares in exile to liue.

67

At whose departure hence out of the land,  
 Oh how the open multitude reueale  
 The wondrous loue they bare him vnderhand,  
 Which now in this hote passion of their zeale  
 They plainly shewde that all might vnderstand  
 How deare he was vnto the common weale:  
 They feard not to exclaime against the king  
 As one that sought all good mens ruining.

Vnto

Vnto the shore with teares, with sighes, with mone  
 They him conduct, cursing the bounds that staie  
 Their willing feete that would haue further gone  
 Had not the fearefull *Ocean* stopt their way:  
 Why *Neptune* hast thou made vs stand alone  
 Deuided from the world, for this say they?  
 Hemd in to be a spoile to tyranny  
 Leauing affliction hence no way to flie?

Are we lockt vp poore soules, here t'abide  
 Within the watery prison of thy waues,  
 As in a fold, where subiect to the pride  
 And lust of rulers we remaine as slaues?  
 Here in the reach of might, where none can hide  
 From th' eie of wrath, but onely in their graues?  
 Happy confiners you of other landes  
 That shift your soile and oft scape tyrants hands.

Ah must we leaue him here; that here were fit  
 We should retaine the pillar of our state;  
 Whose vertues well deserue to gouerne it,  
 And not this wanton young effeminate?  
 Why should not he in regall honour sit,  
 That best knowes how a realme to ordinate?  
 Yet one daie ô we hope thou shalt bring backe  
 Deare *Bullingbrooke* the iustice that we lacke.

Thus



71

Thus muttred lo the malecontented sort  
 That loue kings best before they haue them still,  
 And neuer can the present state comport,  
 But would as oft change as they change their will:  
 For this good Duke had wonne them in this sort  
 By suckring them and pittying of their ill,  
 That they supposed straight it was one thing,  
 To be both a good man, and a good king.

72

When as the grauer sort that saw the course  
 And knew that Princes maie not be controlde,  
 Lik't wel to suffer this for feare of worse;  
 Since many great, one kingdome cannot hold:  
 For now they saw intestine strife of force  
 The apt-deuided state intangle would,  
 If he should stay whom they would make their head,  
 By whom the vulgar body might be lead.

73

They saw likewise that Princes oft are faine  
 To buy their quiet with the price of wrong:  
 And better twere that now a few complaine  
 Then all should morne, as well the weake as strong:  
 Seeing how little *Realmes* by change doe gaine,  
 And therefore learned by obseruing long  
 T' admire times past, follow the present will  
 Wish for good Princes, but t' indure the ill.

E

For

74

For when it nought auailles what folly then  
 To striue against the current of the time?  
 Who will throw downe himselfe for other men  
 That make a ladder by his fall to clime?  
 Or who would seeke t' imbroile his country when  
 He might haue rest; suffering but others crime?  
 Since wisemen euer haue preferred farre  
 Th' vniustest peace, before the iustest warre.

75

Thus they considered that in quiet sate,  
 Rich or content, or else vnfit to striue:  
 Peace louer-wealth, hating a troublous state  
 Doth willing reasons for their rest contriue:  
 But if that all were thus considerate  
 How should in court the great, the fauour'd thriue?  
 Factions must be and these varieties,  
 And some must fall that other some may rise.

76

But long the Duke remaind not in exile  
 Before that *John of Gaunt* his father dies,  
 Vpon whose state the king seasd now this while  
 Disposing of it as his enemies:  
 This open wrong no longer could beguile  
 The world that saw these great indignities,  
 Which so exasperates the mindes of all  
 That they resolu'd him home againe to call.

For

77

For now they saw twas malice in the king  
 Transported in his il-conceiued thought,  
 That made him so to profecute the thing  
 Against all law and in a course so naught:  
 And this aduantage to the Duke did bring  
 Fitter occasions whereupon he wrought:  
 For to a man so strong and of such might  
 He giues him more, that takes away his right.

78

The king, in this meane time, I know not how  
 Was drawne into some actions forth the land,  
 T' appease the *Irish* that reuolted now;  
 And there attending what he had in hand (grow,  
 Neglects those parts from whence worse daungers  
 As ignorant how his affaires did stand:  
 Whether the plot was wrought it should be so,  
 Or that his fate did draw him on to go.

79

Certaine it is that he committed here  
 An ignorant and idle ouersight,  
 Not looking to the Dukes proceedings there,  
 Being in the court of *Fraunce* where best he might,  
 Where both the king and all assured were  
 T' haue stopt his course being within their right:  
 But being now exild he thought him sure  
 And free from farther doubting liu'd secure.

E 2.

So

So blinds the sharpest counsels of the wise  
 This ouershadowing prouidence on hie,  
 And dazeleth the clearest sighted eies,  
 That they see not how nakedly they lie:  
 There where they little thinke the storme doth rise,  
 And ouercasts their cleare security:  
 When man hath stopt al waies saue only that  
 That (least suspected) ruine enters at.

And now was all disorder in th' excesse  
 And whatsoeuer doth a change portend,  
 As idle luxury, and wantonnes,  
*Proteus*-like varying pride, vaine without end:  
 Wrong-worker *Riot*, motiue to oppresse,  
 Endles exactions, which the idle spend,  
 Consuming vsury and credits crackt,  
 Cald on this purging warre that many lackt.

Then ill perswading want in martiall minds,  
 And wronged patience, long opprest with might,  
 Loosenes in all, which no religion bindes,  
 Commaunding force the measure made of right,  
 Gaue fuell to this fire, that easie findes  
 The way it' inflame the whole indangerd quite:  
 These were the publique breeders of this warre,  
 By which stil greatest states confounded are.

83

For now this peace with *Fraunce* had shut in here  
 The ouergrowing humours warres doe spend,  
 For where t' euacuate no employments were  
 Wider th' vnwildy burthen doth distend;  
 Men wholly vsd to warre, peace could not beare;  
 As knowing no course else wheretō to bend:  
 For brought vp in the broiles of these two Realmes,  
 They thought best fishing still in troubled streames.

84

Like to a riuer that is stopt his course  
 Doth violate his bankes, breakes his owne bed,  
 Destroies his bounds and ouer-runs by force  
 The neighbour fields irregularly spread:  
 Euen so this sodaine stop of warre doth nurse  
 Home broiles within it selfe, from others lead:  
 So dangerous the change hereof is tride  
 Ere mindes come soft or otherwise imploid.

85

And all this makes for thee, *ō Bullingbrooke*,  
 To worke a waie vnto thy Soueraintie;  
 This care the heauens, fate and fortune tooke  
 To bring thee to thy scepter easily:  
 Vpon the fals that hap which him forsooke  
 Who crownd a king, a king yet must not die,  
 Thou wert ordaind by providence to raise  
 A quarrell lasting longer then thy daies.

E 3.

For

For now this absent king out of his land,  
 Where though he shew'd great sprite and valor then,  
 (Being attended with a worthy band  
 of valiant Peeres, and most couragious men)  
 Gaue time to them at home that had in hand  
 Th' vngodly worke and knew the season when;  
 Who faile not to aduise the Duke with speed,  
 Solliciting to what he soone agreed.

For presently vpon so good report,  
 He doth with cunning traine and pollicy  
 Conuay himselfe out of the French kings court  
 Vnder pretence to go to Brittanie:  
 And with his followers that to him resort  
 Landed in England. Welcom'd ioyfully  
 Of th' altring vulgar apt for changes still  
 As headlong caried with a present will.

And com'd to quiet shore but not to rest,  
 The first night of his ioyfull landing here  
 A fearefull vision doth his thoughts molest,  
 Seeming to see in wofull forme appeare  
 A naked goodly woman all distrest,  
 Which with ful-weeping eies and rent-white haire,  
 Wringing her hands as one that grieved and praid,  
 With sighes commixt, with words it seem'd shee said.

89

O whither dost thou tend my vnkind sonne?  
 What mischief dost thou go about to bring  
 To her whose *Genius* thou here lookst vpon,  
 Thy mother countrey whence thy selfe didst spring?  
 O whither dost thou in ambition run,  
 To change due course by foule disordering?  
 What bloudshed, ô what broyles dost thou cōmence  
 To last for many wofull ages hence?

90

Stay here thy foote, thy yet vnguiltie foote,  
 That canst not stay when thou art farther in,  
 Retire thee yet vnstaind whilst it doth boote,  
 The end is spoile of what thou dost begin:  
 Iniustice neuer yet tooke lasting roote,  
 Nor held that long impiety did win:  
 The babes vnborne, shall ô be borne to bleed  
 In this thy quarrell if thou doe proceede.

91

Thus said shee ceast, when he in troubled thought  
 Grieu'd at this tale and sigh'd, and this replies:  
 Deare Country ô I haue not hither brought  
 These Armes to spoile but for thy liberties:  
 Tho sinne be on their head that this haue wrought  
 Who wrongd me first, and thee doe tyrannise;  
 I am thy Champion and I seeke my right,  
 Prouokt I am to this by others spight.

This

This this pretence saith shee, th' ambitious finde  
 To smooth iniustice, and to flatter wrong:  
 Thou dost not know what then will be thy mind  
 When thou shalt see thy selfe aduanc'd and strong:  
 When thou hast shak'd off that which others binde  
 Thou soone forgettest what thou learnedst long:  
 Mendoe not know what then themselues will be  
 When as more then themselues, themselues they see.

And herewithall turning about he wakes,  
 Lab'ring in sprite, troubled with this strange sight:  
 And musd a while, waking aduifement takes  
 Of what had past in sleepe and silent night.  
 Yet hereof no important reck'ning makes  
 But as a dreame that vanisht with the light:  
 The day designs, and what he had in hand  
 Left it to his diuerted thoughts vnskand.

Doubtfull at first, he warie doth proceed  
 Seemes not to affect, that which he did effect,  
 Or els perhaps seemes as he ment indeed,  
 Sought but his owne, and did no more expect:  
 Then fortune thou art guilty of his deed,  
 That didst his state aboue his hopes erect,  
 And thou must beare some blame of his great sin  
 That left'st him worse then when he did begin.

Thou



95

Thou didst conspire with pride, and with the time,  
 To make so easie an assent to wrong,  
 That he that had no thought so hie to clime,  
 (With fauoring comfort still allur'd along)  
 Was with occasion thrust into the crime,  
 Seeing others weakenes and his part so strong:  
 And ô in such a case who is it will  
 Do good, and feare that maie liue free with ill.

96

We will not say nor thinke O *Lancaster*,  
 But that thou then didst meane as thou didst swere,  
 Vpon th' Euangelists at *Doncaster*,  
 In th' eie of heauen, and that assembly there  
 That thou but as an vpright orderer  
 Sought'st to reforme th' abused kingdome here,  
 And get thy right, and what was thine before,  
 And this was all, thou would'st attempt no more.

97

Though we might say & thinke that this pretence  
 Was but a shadow to th' intended act,  
 Because th' euent doth argue the offence  
 And plainely seemes to manifest the fact:  
 For that hereby thou mightst win confidence  
 With those whom els thy course might hap distract,  
 And all suspition of thy drift remoue,  
 Since easly men credit whom they loue,

F

But

But God forbid we should so nerely pry  
 Into the low deepe buried sinnes long past  
 T' examine and conferre iniquity,  
 Whereof faith would no memory should last:  
 That our times might not haue t' exemplifie  
 With aged staines, but with our owne shame cast,  
 Might thinke our blot the first not done before,  
 That new-made sins might make vs blush the more.

And let ynwresting charity belecue  
 That then thy oth with thy intent agreed,  
 And others faith, thy faith did first deceiue,  
 Thy after fortune forc'd thee to this deed:  
 And let no man this idle censure giue  
 Because th' euent proues so, twas so decreed:  
 For ô what counsels sort to other end  
 Then that which frailty did at first intend?

Whilst those that are but outward lookers on,  
 That cannot sound these misteries of state,  
 Deemes things were so contriu'd as they are done,  
 Holding that policie, that was but fate: (begun,  
 Wondring how strange twas wrought, how close  
 And thinke all actions else did tend to that,  
 When ô how short they come, or cast too fare  
 Making the happy wiser then they are.

But by degrees he venters now on blood,  
 And sacrific'd vnto the peoples loue,  
 The death of those that chiefe in enuy stood  
 As th' Officers, who first these dangers proue:  
 The treasorer and those that they thought good,  
*Bushy* and *Greene* by death he must remoue,  
 These were the men the people thought did cause  
 Those great exactions and abus'd the lawes.

This done, his cause was preacht with learned skill,  
 And th' Archbishop of Canterbury shew'd  
 A pardon sent from Rome, to all that will  
 Take part with him, and quit the faith they ow'd  
 To Richard, as a Prince vnfit and ill,  
 On whom the crowne was fatally bestow'd:  
 And easie-yeelding zeale was quickly caught  
 With what the mouth of grauity had taught.

O that this powre from euerlasting giuen  
 The great alliance made twixt God and vs,  
 Th' intelligence that earth doth hold with heauen,  
 Sacred religion, ô that thou must thus  
 Be made to smooth our waies vniust, vneuen,  
 Brought from aboue earth-quarrels to discusse,  
 Must men beguile our soules to winne our wils,  
 And make our zeale the furtherer of ils?

But the ambitious to aduance their might  
 Dispence with heauen and what religion would,  
 The armed will finde right, or else make right,  
 If this meanes wrought not, yet another should:  
 And this and other now doe all incite  
 To strength the faction that the Duke doth hold;  
 Who easily obtained what he sought,  
 His vertues and his loue so greatly wrought.

The king still busied in this *Irish* warre  
 Which by his valour there did well succede,  
 Had newes how here his Lords reuolted are,  
 And how the Duke of Herford doth proceed:  
 In these affaires he feares are growne too farre,  
 Hastes his returne from thence with greatest speed;  
 But was by tempests, windes, and seas debarr'd  
 As if they likewise had against him warr'd.

But at the length, though late, in wales he landes,  
 Where thorowly inform'd of *Henries* force,  
 And well aduertisd how his owne case stands,  
 Which to his griefe he sees tendes to the worse:  
 He leaues *Aumarle*, at *Milford* all those bands  
 He brought from *Ireland*; taking thence his course  
 To *Comwaie* all disguid with fourteene more  
 To th' Earle of *Salisbury* thither sent before.

The Duke  
 of Aumarle  
 sonne to the  
 Duke of  
 Yorke.

Thin-

107

Thinking the *Earle* had raisd some forces there  
 Whom there he findes forsaken all alone,  
 The people in those partes which leuied were  
 B'ing closely shronke away disperfd and gone:  
 The king had stayd too long, and they in feare  
 Resolued euery man to shift for one,  
 At this amasd such fortune he laments,  
 Foresees his fall whereto each thing consents.

108

In this disturb'd tumultuous broken state,  
 Whilst yet th' euent stood doubtfull what should be,  
 Whilst nought but headlong running to debate  
 And glittering troupes and armor men might see:  
 Fury, and feare, compassion, wrath, and hate  
 Confusd through all the land no Corner free:  
 The strong all mad, to strife, to ruine bent;  
 The weaker waild, the aged they lament,

109

And blame their many yeares that liue so long  
 To see the horrour of these miseries:  
 Why had not we (said they) dyde with the strong  
 In forraine fields in honourable wise?  
 In iust exploits, and lawfull without wrong,  
 And by the valiant hand of enemies?  
 And not thus now referued in our age  
 To home confusion and disorderd rage.

F 3.

Vnto

Vnto the Temples flocke the weake deuout,  
 Sad wailing women, there to vow and pray  
 For husbands, brothers, or their sonnes gone out  
 To bloudshed, whom nor tears, nor loue could stay:  
 Here graue religious fathers which much doubt  
 The sad euent these broyles procure them may,  
 As Prophets warne, exclaime, disswade these crimes  
 By the examples fresh of other times.

And ô what doe you now prepare said they,  
 Another conquest by these fatall waies?  
 What must your own hands make your selues a pray  
 To desolation, which these tumults raise?  
 What *Dane*, what *Norman*, shall prepare his way  
 To triumph on the spoile of your decaies?  
 That which nor France nor all the world could doe  
 In vnion, shall your discord, bring you to?

Conspire against vs neighbour nations all  
 That enuy at the height whereto w' are growne;  
 Coniure the barbarous North, and let them call  
 Straunge fury from far distant shores, ynknowne,  
 And let them altogether on vs fall;  
 So to diuert the ruine of our owne,  
 That we forgetting what doth so incense,  
 May turne the hand of malice to defence.

113

Calme these tempestuous spirits O mighty Lord,  
 This threatning storme that ouer hangs the land,  
 Make them consider ere they' vnsheath the sword  
 How vaine is th' earth, this point wheron they stand,  
 And with what sad calamities is stoor'd  
 The best of that, for which th' Ambitious band:  
 Labor the end of labor, strife of strife,  
 Terror in death and horrou after life.

114

(good:

Thus they in zeale whose humbled thoughts were  
 Whil'st in this wide spread volume of the skies,  
 The booke of prouidence disclosed stood,  
 Warnings of wrath, foregoing miseries;  
 In lines of fire and characters of blood,  
 There fearefull formes in dreadfull flames arise,  
 Amazing Comets, threatning Monarches might  
 And new-seene starres, vnknowne vnto the night.

115

Red fiery dragons in the aire doe flie,  
 And burning Meteors, poynted-streaming lights,  
 Bright starres in midst of day appeare in skie,  
 Prodigious monsters, gastly fearefull sights:  
 Straunge Ghosts, and apparitions terrifie,  
 The wofull mother her owne birth affrights,  
 Seeing a wrong deformed infant borne  
 Grieuces in her paines, deceiu'd in shame doth morn.  
 The

The Earth as if afeard of bloud and woundes  
 Trembles in terror of these falling bloes:  
 The hollow concaues giue out groning founds  
 And sighing, murmurs to lament our woes:  
 The Ocean all at discord with his boundes,  
 Reiterates his strange vntimely floes:  
 Nature all out of course to checke our course,  
 Neglects her worke to worke in vs remorse.

So great a wracke vnto it selfe doth lo  
 Disorderd mortality prepare:  
 That this whole frame doth euen labour so  
 Her ruine vnto frailty to declare;  
 And trauailes to fore-signifie the wo,  
 That weake improvidence could not beware:  
 For heauen and earth, and aire and seas and all  
 Taught men to see, but not to shun their fall.

Is man so deare vnto the heauens that they  
 Respect the waies of earth, the workes of sin?  
 Doth this great all this vniuersall weigh  
 The vaine designs that weakenes doth begin?  
 Or doe our feare father of zeale make way  
 Vnto this error ignorance liues in?  
 Making our faults the cause that moue these powres  
 That haue their cause from other cause then ours?



119

Or doe the conscience of our wicked deedes  
 Apply to sinne the terrour of these sights,  
 Hapning at the instant when commotion breedes  
 Amazing only timorous vulgar wights,  
 Who euer aggrauating that which feedes  
 Their feares, still find our matter that affrights,  
 Whilst th' impious fierce, neglecting feele no touch,  
 And weigh too light what other feare so much?

120

Ah no, th' eternall powre that guides this frame  
 And serues him with the instruments of heauen  
 To call the earth and summon vp our shame,  
 By an edict from euerlasting giuen;  
 Forbids mortality to search the same,  
 Where sence is blind, and wit of wit bereauen:  
 Terror must be our knowledge, feare our skill,  
 T' admire his worke and tremble at his will.

121

And these beginnings had this impious warre,  
 Th' vngodly bloudshed that did so defile  
 The beauty of thy fields, and euen did marre  
 The flowre of thy chiefe pride ô fairest Ile:  
 These were the causes that incensd so farre  
 The ciuil wounding hand inragd with spoile,  
 That now the liuing with afflicted eie  
 Looke backe with grieve on such calamity.

G

The first part of the history is  
 divided into three books. The first  
 book contains the history of the  
 reign of King Henry the First.  
 The second book contains the  
 history of the reign of King  
 Richard the First. The third  
 book contains the history of the  
 reign of King John.

21

The second part of the history is  
 divided into three books. The first  
 book contains the history of the  
 reign of King Henry the Second.  
 The second book contains the  
 history of the reign of King  
 Richard the Second. The third  
 book contains the history of the  
 reign of King Edward the First.

22

The third part of the history is  
 divided into three books. The first  
 book contains the history of the  
 reign of King Edward the Second.  
 The second book contains the  
 history of the reign of King  
 Edward the Third. The third  
 book contains the history of the  
 reign of King Richard the Third.



THE ARGVMENT OF THE SECOND BOOKE.

*King Richard mones his wrong and wailes his  
And here betrayd to London he is led, (raigne:  
Basely attyrd attending Herfords traine,  
Where th'one is skorn'd, the other weleomed.  
His Wife mistaking him doth much complaine  
And both together greatly sorrowed:  
In hope to saue his life and ease his thrall  
He yeelds up state, and Rule, and Crowne, and all.*

I

**I**N dearth of faith and scarcitty of friends,  
The late great mighty monarch on the shore  
In th' vtmost corner of his land attends  
To call backe false obedience fled before:  
Toyles, and in vaine, his toile and labour spends,  
More hearts he sought to gaine he lost the more:  
All turn'd their faces to the rising sunne  
And leaues his setting-fortune night begun.

THE SECOND BOOKE]

2

O Percy how by thy example lead

*This Percy  
was Earle  
of Worcester,  
and brother  
to the  
Earle of  
Northum-  
berland.*

The household traine forsooke their wretched Lord,  
When with thy staffe of charge dishonoured,  
Thou brak'st thy faith, not steward of thy word,  
And tookst his part that after tooke thy head: (sword;  
When thine owne hand had strengthened first his,  
For such great merits doe obraid, and call  
For great reward, or thinke the great too small.

3

And kings loue not to be beholding ought, (worst:  
Which makes their chiefest friends oft speed the  
For those by whom their fortunes haue bin wrought;  
Put them in mind of what they were at first:  
Whose doubtfull faith if once in question brought  
Tis thought they will offend because they durst,  
And taken in a fault are neuer spar'd,  
Being easier to reuenge, then to reward.

4.

And thus these mighty actors sonnes of change,  
These partizanes of factions, often tride  
That in the smoake of innouations strange  
Build huge vncertaine plots of vnsure pride:  
And on the hazard of a bad exchange  
Haue venterd all the stocke of life beside,  
Whilst Princes raisd, disdain to haue beene raisd  
By those whose helpes deserue not to be praisd.

5

O *Maiestie* left naked all alone  
 But with th' vnarmed title of thy right,  
 Those gallant troupes, thy fortune followers gone;  
 And all that pompe (the complements of might)  
 Th' amazing shadowes that are cast vpon  
 The cares of Princes, to beguile the sight,  
 Are vanisht cleane, and only frailty left  
 Thy selfe of all, besides thy selfe bereft.

6

Like when some great *Coloffus*, whose strong base  
 Or mighty props are shronke or funke awaie,  
 Fore-shewing ruine, threatning all the place  
 That in the danger of his fall doth stay,  
 All straight to better safetie flocke apace,  
 None rest to helpe the ruine while they maie:  
 The perill great and doubtfull the redresse,  
 Men are content to leaue right in distresse.

7

As stately *Thames* inricht with many a flood,  
 And goodly riuers that haue made their graues  
 And buried both their names and all their good  
 Within his greatnes to augment his waues;  
 Glides on with pompe of waters vnwithstood  
 Vnto the *Ocean*, which his tribute craues  
 And laies vp all his wealth within that powre,  
 Which in it selfe all greatnes doth deuour.

G 3.

So

So flocke the mightie with their following traine  
 Vnto the all-receiuing *Bullingbrooke*,  
 Who wonders at himselfe how he should gaine  
 So manie hearts as now his partie tooke,  
 And with what ease and with how slender paine,  
 His fortune giues him more then he could looke,  
 What he imagind neuer could be wrought  
 Is powrd vpon him, farre beyond his thought.

So often things which seeme at first in shew  
 Without the compasse of accomplishment,  
 Once ventred on to that successe do grow,  
 That euen the Authors do admire th'euent:  
 So manie meanes which they did neuer know  
 Doe second their designs, and doe present  
 Straunge vnexpected helpes, and chiefly then  
 When th'Actors are reputed worthy men.

And *Richard* who lookt fortune in the backe,  
 Sees headlong-lightnes running from the right,  
 Amazed stands to note how great a wracke  
 Offaith his riots causd, what mortall spight  
 The beare him, who did law and iustice lacke:  
 Sees how concealed hate breakes out in fight,  
 And feare-depressed enuy pent before  
 When fit occasion thus vnlockt the dore.

## II I

Like when some mastiue whelp disposed to plaie  
 A whole confused heard of beastes doth chace,  
 Which with one vile consent run all awaie,  
 If any hardier then the rest in place  
 But turne the head that idle feare to stay,  
 Backe straight the daunted chaser turnes his face,  
 And all the rest with bold example led  
 As fast run on him as before they fled.

## 12

So with this bold opposer rushes on  
 This many-headed monster *Multitude*;  
 And he who late was feard is set vpon,  
 And by his owne *Alexon*-like pursude,  
 His owne that had all loue and awe forgone;  
 Whom breath and shadowes only did delude,  
 And newer hopes which promises perswade:  
 Though rare performed promises so made.

## 13

Which seeing this: thus to himselfe complaines:  
 O why do you fond false deceiued soules  
 Run headlong to that change that nothing gaines  
 But gaine of sorrow, onlie change of two  
 Which is all one if he be like that raignes  
 Why will you buy with bloud what you forgoe  
 Tis nought but shewes that ignorance esteemes,  
 The thing possesst is not the thing it seemes.

And

And when the sinnes of *Bullingbrooke* shall be  
 As great as mine, and you vnanswered  
 In these your hopes; then may you wish for me  
 Your lawfull Sou'raigne from whose faith you fled,  
 And grieued in your soules the error see  
 That shining promises had shadowed:  
 As th' humorous sicke remouing finde no ease,  
 When changed Chambers change not the disease.

Then shall you finde this name of liberty  
 (The watchword of rebellion euer vsd  
 The idle eccho of vncertainty,  
 That euermore the simple hath abused)  
 But new-turnd seruitude and miserie,  
 And euen the same and worse before refusd,  
 Th' aspirer once attaind vnto the top  
 Cuts off those meanes by which himselfe got vp.

And with a harder hand and streighter raine  
 Doth curbe that loosenes he did finde before,  
 Doubting th' occasion like might serue againe,  
 His owne example makes him feare the more:  
 Then ô iniurious land what dost thou gaine  
 To aggrauate thine owne afflictions store?  
 Since thou must needs obay to gouernement,  
 And no rule euer yet could all content.



17

O if my youth hath offred vp to lust  
 Licentious fruits of indiscreet desires  
 When idle heate of vainer yeares did thrust  
 That fury on: yet now when it retires  
 To calmer state: ô why should you distrust  
 To reape that good whereto mine age aspires?  
 The youth of Princes haue no bounds for sinne  
 Vnlesse themselues do make them bounds within.

18

Who sees not that sees ought (wo worth the while)  
 The easie way that greatnesse hath to fall  
 Enuiron'd with deceit, hem'd in with guile,  
 Scoth'd vp in flattery, fawned on of all:  
 Within his owne liuing, as in exile,  
 Heares but with others eares or not at all:  
 Euen made a pray onely vnto a few,  
 Who locke vp grace that would to others shew.

19

And who as let in leafe doe farme the crowne,  
 And ioy the vse of *Maiestie* and might,  
 Whilst we hold but the shadow of our owne,  
 Pleas'd but with shewes, and daldied with delight:  
 They as huge vnproportion'd mountaines growne  
 Betweene our land and vs, shadowing our light,  
 Bereaue the rest of ioy and vs of loue,  
 And keepe downe all to keepe themselues aboue.

but.

H

Which

Which woulds with griefe poore vnrespected zeale  
 When grace holdes no proportion in the partes;  
 When distribution in the common weale  
 Of charge and honour due to good defarts  
 Is stopt, when others greedy hands must deale  
 The benefit that *Maiestie* imparts:  
 What good we ment comes gleaned home but light  
 Whilst we are robd of praise, they of their right.

O hence I see, and to my griefe I see,  
 Th' vnreconcileable difunion  
 Is growne betweene m' aggraued realme and mee,  
 And by their fault, whose faith I trusted on:  
 My easie nature tractable and free,  
 Soone drawne to what my counsel would haue done  
 Is thus betraid by them and my neglect,  
 Easiest deceiud where least I did suspect.

Thus he complaind, when lo from *Lancaster*  
 (The new intituled *Duke*) with order sent  
 Ariu'd *Northumberland*, as to conferre  
 And make relation of the *Dukes* intent:  
 And offred there, if that he would referre  
 The controuersie vnto *Parlament*,  
 And punish those that had abusd the state  
 As causers of this vniuersall hate,

And

23

And also see that iustice might be had  
 On those the Duke of Glosters death procur'd,  
 And such remoud from councell as were bad,  
 His cosin *Henrie* would he there assur'd  
 On humble knees before his grace be glad  
 To aske him pardon to be well secur'd,  
 And haue his right and grace restor'd againe,  
 The which was all he laboured t' obtaine.

24

And therefore he a Parley doth exhort,  
 Perswades him leaue that vnbeseeeming place  
 And with a Princely hardines resort  
 Vnto his people, that attend his grace:  
 They ment the publique good and not his hurt,  
 And would most ioifull be to see his face:  
 He laies his soule to pledge, and takes his oth  
 The ost of Christ an ostage for his troth.

25

This profer with such protestations made  
 Vnto a king that so nere daunger stood,  
 Was a sufficient motiue to perswade  
 When no way els could shew a face of good:  
 Th' vnhonourable meanes of safety bad  
 Danger accept what *Maiestie withstood*:  
 When better choices are not to be had  
 We needs must take the seeming best of bad.

H 2.

Yet

Yet stands h' in doubt a while what way to take,  
 And doth confer with that small staying troope  
 That fortune left; which neuer would forsake  
 Their poore distressed Lord, nor euer stoop  
 To any hopes the stronger part could make:

The Bishop  
 of Carlile.  
 Montague  
 Earle of Sa-  
 isbury.

Good *Carlile*, *Ferby* and sir *Stephen Scrope*  
 With that most worthy *Montague* were al,  
 That were content with *Maiestie* to fall.

O *Time*, commit not sacrilegious theft  
 Vppon the holy faith of these good men:  
 Let not succeeding ages be bereft  
 Of such examples worthy of our Pen:  
 Nor thou magnanim'ous *Leigh* shalt not be left  
 In darkenes for thy constant honour then,  
 That then to saue thy faith wouldst lose thy head,  
 That reuerent head that all men pittied.

Nor conscience would that I should iniury.

Jenico d'  
 Arco's a  
 Gascoyn.

O *Jenico* thy memory so cleere,  
 For being not ours, though wish that *Gascoyn*  
 Claimd not for hers the faith we hold so deere;  
 So *England* should haue this small companie  
 Wholy her owne, and shee no partner heere;  
 But lets deuide this good betwixt vs both,  
 Take shee thy birth and we will haue thy troth.

29

Graue *Montague*, whom long experience taught  
 In either fortune; this aduise his king:  
*Deare Sou'raigne* know, the matter that is sought  
 Is onely now your Maiestie to bring  
 From out of this poore safety you haue got  
 Into their hands, that else hold euery thing:  
 Nothing but onely you they want of all,  
 And wanting you, they nothing theirs can call.

30

Here haue you craggy rockes to take your part  
 That neuer will betray their faith to you;  
 These trustie mountaines here will neuer start  
 But stand t'obraid their shame that are vntrue,  
 Here maie you fence your safetie with small art  
 Against the pride of that confused Crew:  
 If men will not, these very cliffes will fight  
 And be sufficient to defend your right.

31

Then keepe you here, and here shall you behold  
 Within short space the sliding faith of those  
 That cannot long their resolution hold,  
 Repent the course their idle rashnes chose  
 For that same mercenarie faith they sold  
 With least occasions discontented growes;  
 And insolent those voluntarie bands,  
 Presuming how by them he chieflie stands.

H 3.

And

32

And how can he those mightie troupes sustaine  
 Long time where now he is, or any where?  
 Besides what discipline can he retaine  
 Where as he dares not keepe them vnder feare,  
 For feare to haue them to reuolt againe?  
 So that it selfe when greatnes cannot beare  
 With her owne waight must needes confusdly fall  
 Without the helpe of other force at all.

33

And hither to approach h' will neuer dare  
 Where deserts, rockes, and hils no succours giue,  
 Where desolation and no comforts are,  
 Where few can do no good, manie not liue:  
 Besides we haue the *Ocean* to prepare  
 Some other place if this should not relieue;  
 So shall you tire his force, consume his strength  
 And weary all his followers out at length.

34

Doe but referre to time and to small time,  
 And infinite occasions you shall find,  
 To quaile the reble euen in the prime  
 Of all his hopes beyond all thought of mind,  
 For manie with the conscience of the crime  
 In colder blood will curse what they design'd;  
 And bad successe obraiding their ill fact  
 Drawes them that others draw from such an act.

For

35

For if the least imagin'd ouerrure  
 But of conceiud reuolt men once espie,  
 Straight shrinke the weake, the great wil not indure,  
 Th' impatient run, the discontented flie,  
 The friend his friends example doth procure,  
 And altogether haste them presently  
 Some to their home, some hide, others that stay  
 To reconcile themselues, the rest betray.

36

What hope haue you that euer *Bullingbrooke*  
 Will liue a subiect that hath tride his fate?  
 Or what good reconcilement can you looke  
 Where he must alwaies feare, and you must hate?  
 And neuer thinke that he this quarrell tooke  
 To reobtaine thereby his priuate state;  
 T was greater hopes that hereto did him call  
 And he will thrust for all, or else loose all.

37

Nor trust this futtle *Agent* nor his oth,  
 You know his faith, you tride it before hand,  
 His fault is death and now to loose his troth,  
 To saue his life he will not greatly stand:  
 Nor trust your kinsmans proffer, since you both  
 Shew bloud in Princes is no stedfast band:  
 What though he hath no title, he hath might  
 That makes a title where there is no right?

EnA

Thus

*The Bishop  
of Carlile.*

Thus he : when that good Bishop thus replies  
 Out of a mind that quiet did affect,  
 My Lord, I must confesse as your case lies,  
 You haue great cause your subiects to suspect  
 And counterplot against their subtelties,  
 You all good care and honestie neglect  
 And feare the worst what insolence maie doe,  
 Or armed fury maie incense them to.

But yet my Lord; feare maie as well transport  
 Your care beyond the truth of what is ment,  
 As otherwise neglect maie fall too short  
 In not examining of their intent:  
 But let vs weigh the thing which they exhort,  
 Tis Peace, submission and a parliament,  
 Which how expedient tis for either part  
 Twere good we iudgd with an vnpartiall hart.

And first for you my Lord, in grieffe we see  
 The miserable case wherein you stand  
 Void here of succour, helpe or maiestie,  
 On this poore promontory of your land,  
 And where how long a time your grace may be,  
 Expecting what may fall into your hand  
 We know not: since th' euent of things do lie  
 Clos'd vp in darknes far from mortall eie.

And



41

And how vnfit it were you should protract  
 Long time in this so dangerous disgrace,  
 As though that you good spirit and courage lackt  
 To issue out of this opprobrious place :  
 When euen the face of kings do oft exact  
 Feare and remorse in faulty subiects base,  
 And longer stay a great presumption drawes  
 That you were guilty or did doubt your cause.

42

What subiects euer so inragd would dare  
 To violate a Prince, t' offend the bloud  
 Of that renowned race, by which they are  
 Exalted to the glorie of this good ?  
 What if some things by chance misguided were,  
 Which they haue now rebelliously withstood ?  
 They neuer will proceed with that despight  
 To wracke the state, and to confound the right.

43

Nor doe I thinke that *Bullingbrooke* can be  
 So blind ambitious to affect the crowne,  
 Hauing himselfe no title, and doth see  
 Others, if you should faile, must keepe him downe :  
 Besides the Realme, though mad, will neuer gree  
 To haue a right succession ouerthrowne,  
 To raise confusion vpon them and theirs  
 By preiudicing true and lawfull heires.

I

And

And now it may be feareing the successe  
 Of his attempts, or with remorse of mind,  
 Or else distrusting secret practises,  
 He would be glad his quarrell were resignd,  
 So that there were some orderly redresse  
 In those disorders which the Realme did find:  
 And this I thinke he now sees were his best  
 Since farther actions farther but vnrest.

And for th' impossibility of peace  
 And reconciliation which my Lords objects:  
 I thinke when doying iniury shall cease  
 (The cause pretended) then surcease th' effects:  
 Time and some other Actions may increase  
 As may diuert the thought of these respects;  
 Others law of forgetting iniuries  
 Maie serue our turne in like calamities.

*In Anne.  
 sive.*

And for his oath my Lord I thinke in conscience,  
 True honour would not so be found vnttrue,  
 Nor spot his bloud with such a fowle offence  
 Against his foule, against his God and you:  
 Our Lord forbid that euer with th' expence  
 Of heauen and heauenly ioies that shall in sue,  
 Mortality should buy this litle breath  
 T' indure the horror of eternal death,

B.A.

I

And

47

And therefore as I thinke you safely maie  
 Accept this proffer, that determine shall  
 All doubtfull courses by a quiet waie;  
 Needfull for you, fit for them, good for all:  
 And here my sou'raigne to make longer stay  
 T' attend for what you are vnſure will fall  
 May flippe th' occasion and incense their will,  
 For feare thats wiser then the truth doth ill.

48

Thus he perſwades euen of a zealous mind,  
 Suppoſing men had ſpoken as they ment,  
 And vnto this the king likewise inclinde  
 As wholly vnto peace and quiet bent,  
 And yeelds himſelfe to th' earle, goes, leaues behind  
 Safety, Scepter, honor, gouernment:  
 For gone, all's gone, he is no more his owne;  
 And they rid quite of feare, he of the crowne.

49

A place there is where proudly raiſd there ſtands  
 A huge aſpiring rocke neighbour'ing the ſkies  
 Whoſe ſurly brow imperiouſly commands  
 The ſea his bounds that at his proud feet lies:  
 And ſpurnes the waues that in rebellious bands  
 Aſſault his Empire and againſt him riſe:  
 Vnder whoſe craggy gouernment there was  
 A niggard narrow way for men to paſſe.

I 2.

And

And here in hidden cliffes concealed lay  
 A troope of armed men to intercept  
 The vnſuſpecting king, that had no way  
 To free his foote that into danger ſtept:  
 The dreadfull *Ocean* on th' one ſide lay,  
 The hard-incroching mountaine th' other kept;  
 Before him he beheld his hatefull foes;  
 Behind, him traiterous enemies incloſe.

Enuiron'd thus the *Earle* begins to cheere  
 His all-amafed Lord by him betraide:  
 Bids him take courage, ther's no cauſe of feare,  
 Theſe troopes but there to guard him ſafe were laid:  
 To whom the king: what needs ſo many here?  
 This is againſt your oth my Lord he ſaid:  
 But now he ſees in what diſtreſſe hee ſtood,  
 To ſtriue was vaine, t' intreat would do no good.

And therefore on with carefull hart he goes  
 Complaines (but to himſelf) ſighes, grieues & freats,  
 At *Rutland* dines, though feedes but on his woes,  
 The grieſe of mind hindred the minde of meats:  
 For ſorrow, ſhame and feare, ſkorne of his foes,  
 The thought of what hee was and what now threats;  
 Then what he ſhould, and now what he hath done,  
 Muſters confuſed paſſions all in one.

53

To *Flint* from thence vnto a restless bed  
 That miserable night he comes conuayd,  
 Poorely prouided, poorely followed,  
 Vncourted, vnrespected, vnobayd:  
 Where if vncertaine sleepe but hooered  
 Ouer the drooping cares that heavy weigh'd,  
 Millions of figures fantasie presents  
 Vnto that sorrow, wakened grieffe augments.

54

His new misfortune makes deluding sleepe  
 Say twas not so, false dreames the truth deny:  
 Wherewith he starts: feeles waking cares do creepe  
 Vpon his soule, and giues his dreame the lie:  
 Then sleepest againe, and then againe as deepe  
 Deceits of darknes mocke his misery:  
 So hard belieu'd was sorrow in her youth (truth.  
 That he thinks truth was dreames, & dreames were

55

The morning light presents vnto his view  
 Walking vpon a turret of the place,  
 The truth of what he sees is prou'd too true;  
 A hundred thousand men before his face  
 Came marching on the shore which thither drew:  
 And more to aggrauate his fowle disgrace,  
 Those he had wrongd or done to them dispight  
 As if they him obrayd, came first in sight.

I 3.

There

More griefe had said: when lo the Duke he saw  
 Entring the *Castle* come to parle there,  
 Which makes him presently from thence withdraw  
 Into a fitter place some other where:  
 His fortune now inforst an yeelding awe  
 To meete him, who before in humble feare  
 Would haue beene glad t' haue staid, and to prepare  
 The grace of audience, with attendant care.

The *Duke* when come in presence of his king,  
 Whether the sight of maiestie did breed  
 Remorse of wrong which reuerence did bring;  
 Or whether but to formalize his deed,  
 He kneeles him downe euen at his entering,  
 Rose, kneeles againe (for craft will still exceed)  
 When as the king approcht, put off his hood  
 And welcomd him, though wishd him little good.

To whom the *Duke* thus said: my Lord I know  
 That both vnlookt for, and vnsent vnto  
 I haue presumed to come hither now;  
 But this your wrong and rigor draue me to,  
 And being come I purpose now to shew  
 You better how to rule, and what to doe:  
 You haue had time too much to worke our ill,  
 But now redresse is planted in our will.

65

As you shall please deare cosin said the king,  
 You haue me in your powre, I am content  
 And I am pleas'd, if my disgrace may bring  
 Good to my countrey which I euer ment:  
 But yet God grant your course held in this thing  
 Cause not succeeding ages to repent.  
 And so they left: the *Duke* had hast to go,  
 It was no place to end the matter so.

66

Straight towards London in this heate of pride  
 The *Duke* sets forward as they had decreed,  
 With whom the *Captiue King* constraind must ride,  
 Most meanelly mounted on a simple steed:  
 Degraded of all grace and ease beside,  
 Thereby neglect of all respect to breed;  
 For th' ouer-spreading pompe of prouder might  
 Must darken weaknes and debase his sight.

67

Approaching nere the Citty he was met  
 With all the sumptuous shewes ioy could deuise,  
 Where new-desire to please did not forget  
 To passe the vsuall pompe of former guise;  
 Striuing applause as out of prison let,  
 Runnes on beyond all boundes to nouelties:  
 And voice and hands and knees and all do now  
 A straung deformed forme of welcome show.

K

And

And manifold confusion running greetes (nere:  
 Shoores,cries,claps hands,thrusts,striues and presses  
 Houses impou'riht were t' inrich the streetes,  
 And streetes left naked that vnhappy were  
 Plac'd from the sight where ioy with wonder meets,  
 Where all of all degrees striue to appeare:  
 Where diuers-speaking zeale,one murmure findes  
 In vndistinguisht voice to tell their mindes.

He that in glorie of his fortune sate,  
 Admiring what he thought could neuer be,  
 Did feele his bloud within salute his state,  
 And lift vp his reioicing soule to see  
 So manie hands and harts congratulate  
 Th'aduancement of his long-desir'd degree:  
 When prodigall of thankes in passing by  
 He resalutes them all with cheerefull eie.

Behind him all aloofe came pensie on  
 The vnregarded king, that drooping went  
 Alone, and but for spight scarce lookt vpon,  
 Iudge if he did more enuy or lament:  
 O what a wondrous worke this daie is done,  
 Which th' image of both fortunes doth present,  
 In th' one to shew the best of glories face,  
 In th' other worse then worst of all disgrace.

Now



71

Now *Isabell* the young afflicted Queene,  
 Whose yeares had neuer shew'd her but delights,  
 Nor louely eies before had euer seene  
 Other then smiling ioies and ioyfull sights:  
 Borne great, matcht great, liu'd great and euer beene  
 Partaker of the worlds best benefits,  
 Had plac'd her selfe, hearing her Lord should passe  
 That way where shee vnseene in secret was.

72

Sicke of delay and longing to behold  
 Her long mist loue in fearefull ieoperdies,  
 To whom although it had in sort beene told  
 Of their proceeding, and of his surprize,  
 Yet thinking they would neuer be so bold  
 To lead their Lord in any shamefull wise,  
 But rather would conduct him as their king,  
 As seeking but the states reordering.

73

And forth shee looks: and notes the formost traine  
 And grieues to view some there shee wisht not there,  
 Seeing the chiefe not come, staies, lookes againe,  
 And yet shee sees not him that should appeare:  
 Then backe shee stands, and then desires was faine  
 Againe to looke to see if he were nere,  
 At length a glittering troupe farre off shee spies,  
 Perceiues the thronge and heares the shoots & cries.

K 2.

LQ

74

Lo yonder now at length he comes (saith shee)  
 Looke my good women where he is in sight:  
 Do you not see him? yonder that is hee  
 Mounted on that white courser all in white,  
 There where the thronging troupes of people bee,  
 I know him by his seate, he sits s' vpright:  
 Lo now he bows: deare Lord with what sweet grace:  
 How long haue I longd to behold that face?

75

O what delight my hart takes by mine eie?  
 I doubt me when he comes but something neare  
 I shall set wide the window: what care I  
 Who doth see me, so him I may see cleare?  
 Thus doth false ioy delude her wrongfully  
 Sweet lady in the thing she held so deare;  
 For nearer come, shee findes shee had mistooke,  
 And him shee markt was *Henrie Bullingbrooke*.

76

Then *Ennie* takes the place in her sweet eies  
 Where sorrow had prepard her selfe a seat; (rise,  
 And words of wrath from whēce complaints should  
 Proceed from eagar lookes, and browes that threat:  
 Traytor saith shee: i' st thou that in this wise  
 To braue thy Lord and king art made so great?  
 And haue mine eies done vnto me this wrong  
 To look on thee? for this staid I so long?

77<sup>08</sup>

O haue they grac'd a periur'd rebell fo?  
 Well for their error I will weepe them out,  
 And hate the tongue defilde that praisde my fo,  
 And loath the minde that gaue me not to doubt:  
 O haue I added shame vnto my woe?  
 Ile looke no more; *Ladies* looke you about,  
 And tell me if my Lord bee in this traine,  
 Least my betraying eies should erre againe.

78

And in this passion turnes her selfe away:  
 The rest looke all, and carefull note each wight;  
 Whilst she impatient of the least delay  
 Demaunds againe, and what not yet in sight?  
 Where is my Lord? what gone some other way?  
 Imuse at this, O God graunt all go right.  
 Then to the window goes againe at last  
 And sees the chiefest traine of all was past.

79

And sees not him her soule desir'd to see,  
 And yet hope spent makes her not leaue to looke,  
 At last her loue-quick eies which ready be,  
 Fastens on one whom though shee neuer tooke  
 Could be her Lord: yet that sad cheere which he  
 Then shew'd, his habit and his wofull looke,  
 The grace he doth in base attire retaine,  
 Caus'd her she could not from his sight refraine.

K 3.

What

What might he be she said that thus alone  
 Rides pensive in this vniuersall ioy:  
 Some I perceiue as well as we doe mone,  
 All are not pleas'd with euery thing this day,  
 It maie be he laments the wronge is done  
 Vnto my Lord, and grieues as well he may,  
 Then he is some of ours, and we of right  
 Must pittie him, that pitties our sad plight.

But stay, ist not my Lord himselte I see?  
 In truth if twere not for his base araie,  
 I verily should thinke that it were he;  
 And yet his basenes doth a grace bewray:  
 Yet God forbid, let me deceiued be;  
 O be it not my Lord although it may:  
 And let desire make vowes against desire,  
 And let my sight approue my sight a liar.

Let me not see him, but himselte, a king;  
 For so he left me, so he did remoue:  
 This is not he, this feeles some other thing,  
 A passion of dislike or els of loue:  
 O yes tis he, that princely face doth bring  
 The euidence of maiestie to proue:  
 That face I haue conferr'd which now I see  
 With that within my hart, and they agree.

Thus

83

Thus as shee stood assur'd and yet in doubt,  
 Wishing to see, what seene shee grieved to see,  
 Hauing beliefe, yet faine would be without;  
 Knowing, yet struiuing not to know twas he:  
 Her hart relenting, yet her hart so stout  
 As would not yeeld to thinke what was, could be:  
 Till quite condemnd by open prooffe of sight  
 Shee must confesse or else denie the light.

84

For whether loue in him did sympathize  
 Or chance so wrought to manifest her doubt,  
 Euen iust before, where shee thus secret prize,  
 He staies and with cleare face lookes all about:  
 When shee: tis ô too true, I know his eies  
 Alas it is my owne deare Lord, cries out:  
 And with that crie sinkes downe vpon the flore,  
 Abundant grieffe lackt words to vtter more.

85

Sorrow keepes full possession in her soule,  
 Lockeshim within, laies vp the key of breath,  
 Raignes all alone a *Lord* without controule  
 So long till greater horror threatneth:  
 And euen in daunger brought, to loose the whole  
 H' is forst come forth or else to stay with death,  
 Opens a sigh and lets in sence againe,  
 And sence at lēgth giues words leaue to complaine.  
 Then

Then like a torrent had beene stopt before,  
 Teares, sighes, and words, doubled together flow,  
 Confusdly striuing whether should do more  
 The true intelligence of grieffe to show:  
 Sighes hindred words, words perisht in their store,  
 Both intermixt in one together grow:  
 One would do all, the other more then's part  
 Being both sent equall agents from the hart.

87

At length when past the first of sorrowes worst,  
 When calm'd confusion better forme affords  
 Her hart commands her words should past out first,  
 And then her sighes should interpoint her words;  
 The whiles her eies out into teares should burst,  
 This order with her sorrow she accords,  
 Which orderles all forme of order brake,  
 So then began her words and thus she spake.

88

O dost thou thus retorne againe to mee?  
 Are these the triumphs for thy victories?  
 Is this the glory thou dost bring with thee  
 From that vnhappy Irish enterprize?  
 O haue I made so many vowes to see  
 Thy safe retorne, and see thee in this wise?  
 Is this the lookt for comfort thou dost bring,  
 To come a captiue that wentst out a king?

And

89

And yet deare Lord though thy vngratefull land  
 Hath left thee thus, yet I will take thy part,  
 I do remaine the same vnder thy hand,  
 Thou still dost rule the kingdome of my hart;  
 If all be lost, that gouernment doth stand  
 And that shall neuer from thy rule depart:  
 And so thou be, I care not how thou be,  
 Let greatnes goe, so it goe without thee.

90

And welcome come, how so vnfortunate,  
 I will applaud what others do dispise,  
 I loue thee for thy selfe not for thy state,  
 More then thy selfe is what without thee, lies:  
 Let that more go, if it be in thy fate,  
 And hauing but thy selfe it will suffice:  
 I married was not to thy crowne but thee,  
 And thou without a crowne all one to mee.

91

But what doe I heere lurking idlie mone  
 And waile a part, and in a single part  
 Make seuerall grieffe which should be both in one,  
 The touch being equall of each others hart?  
 Ah no sweete Lord thou must not mone alone,  
 For without me thou art not all thou art,  
 Nor my teares without thine are fullie teares,  
 For thus vniioyn'd, sorrow but halfe appears.

L

Ioine

Ioine then our plaints & make our grieife ful grieife;  
 Our state being one,ô lets not part our care,  
 Sorrow hath only this poore bare reliefe,  
 To be bemon'd of such as wofull are:  
 O should I rob thy grieife and be the thiefe  
 To steale a priuate part, and seuerall share,  
 Defrauding sorrow of her perfect due?  
 No no my Lord I come to helpe thee rue.

Then forth shee goes a close concealed way  
 As grieuing to be scene not as shee was;  
 Laborst' attaine his presence all shee maie,  
 Which with most hard a doe was brought to passe:  
 For that night vnderstanding where he laie  
 With earnest treating she procur'd her passe  
 To come to him. Rigor could not deny  
 Those teares, so poore a suite or put her by.

Entring the chamber where he was alone  
 As one whose former fortune was his shame,  
 Loathing th' obraiding eie of anie one  
 That knew him once and knowes him not the same:  
 When hauing giuen expresse commaund that none  
 Should presse to him, yet hearing some that came  
 Turnes angerly about his griued eies  
 When lo his sweet afflicted Queene he spies.



95

Straight cleeres his brow & with a borrowed smile  
 What my dere Queene, ô welcome deare he saies?  
 And striuing his owne passion to beguile  
 And hide the sorrow which his eie betraies, (while,  
 Could speake no more but wrings her hands the  
 And then (sweet lady) and againe he staies:  
 Th' excesse of ioy and sorrow both affords  
 Affliction none, or but poore niggard words.

96

Shee that was come with a resolued hart  
 And with a mouth full stor'd, with words wel chose,  
 Thinking this comfort will I first impart  
 Vnto my Lord, and thus my speech dispose:  
 Then thus ile say, thus looke, and with this art  
 Hide mine owne sorrow to relieue his woes,  
 When being come all this prou'd nought but winde,  
 Teares, lookes, and sighes doe only tell her minde.

97

Thus both stood silent and confused so,  
 Their eies relating how their harts did morne  
 Both bigge with sorrow, and both great with woe  
 In labour with what was not to be borne:  
 This mighty burthen wherewithall they goe  
 Dies vndeliuered, perishes vnborne;  
 Sorrow makes silence her best oratore  
 Where words may make it lesse not shew it more.

L 2.

But

But he whom longer time had learn'd the art  
 T'indure affliction as a vsuall touch:  
 Straines forth his wordes, and throwes dismay apart.  
 To raise vp her, whose passions now were such  
 As quite opprest her ouerchardged hart,  
 Too small a vessell to containe so much, (frame  
 And cheeres and mones, and fained hopes doth  
 As if himselfe belieu'd, or hop'd the same.

And now the while these Princes sorrowed,  
 Forward ambition come so nere her ende,  
 Sleeper not nor slips th' occasion offered  
 T'accomplish what it did before intende:  
 A parliament is forthwith summoned  
 In *Richards* name; whereby they might pretend  
 A forme to grace disorder and a shew  
 Of holie right, the right to ouerthrow.

Ah could not *Maiestie* bee ruined  
 But with the fearefull powre of her owne name?  
 And must abusd obedience thus be led  
 With powrefull titles to consent to shame?  
 Could not confusion be established  
 But forme and order must confirme the same?  
 Must they who his authority did hate,  
 Yet vse his stile to take away his state?

101

Order, ô how predominant art thou!  
 That if but only thou pretended art,  
 How soone deceiu'd mortality doth bow  
 To follow thine as still the better part?  
 Tis thought that reuerent forme will not allow  
 Iniquity: or sacred right peruart:  
 Within our soules since ô thou dwell'st so strong  
 How ill do they that vse thee to do wrong?

102

So ill did they that in this formall course  
 Sought to establish a deformed right:  
 Who might as well effected it by force,  
 But that men hold it wrong what's wrought by  
 Offences vrg'd in publique are made worse,  
 The shew of iustice aggravates despight:  
 The multitude that looke not to the cause  
 Rest satisfied, so it be done by lawes.

103

And now doth enuie articles obiect  
 Of rigor, malice, priuate fauourings,  
 Exaction, riot, falshood and neglect;  
 Crimes done, but not to b' answered by kings:  
 Which subiectes maie complaine but not correct:  
 And all these faults which *Lancaster* now brings  
 Against a king, must be his owne when he  
 Py vrging others sinnes a king shall be.

noqv

L 3.

For

For all that was most odious was deuisd  
 And publiht in these articles abrode,  
 All th' errors of his youth were here comprisd  
 Calamitie with obloquie to lode:  
 And more to make him publikely dispisd  
 Libels, inuectiues, rayling rimes were sow'd  
 Among the vulgar, to prepare his fall  
 With more applause and good consent of all.

Looke how the day-hater *Mineruas* bird  
 Whil' st priuiledg'd with darknes and the night,  
 Doth liue secure t' himselve of others feard,  
 But if by chance discouered in the light  
 O how each little foule with enuy stirr'd  
 Cals him to iustice, vrges him with spight;  
 Summons the feathered flockes of all the wood  
 To come to scorne the tyrant of their blood.

So fares this king layd open to disgrace  
 Whilst euery mouth full of reproch inuaies,  
 And euery base detractor in this case  
 Vppon th' aduantage of misfortune plaies:  
 Downe-falling greatnes vrged on a pace  
 Was followed hard by all disgracefull waies,  
 Now in the point t' accelerate an end  
 Whilst misery had no meanes to defend.

Vpon

107

Vpon these articles in parliament  
 So haynous made, inforst, and vrgd so hard,  
 He was adiugd vnfit for gouernment  
 And of all regall powre and rule debarr'd:  
 For who durst contradict the *Dukes* intent,  
 Or if they durst should patiently be heard?  
 Desire of change, old wrongs, new hopes, fresh feare  
 Being far the maior part, the cause must beare.

108

Yet must we thinke that some which saw the course  
 The better few, whom passion made not blind  
 Stood carefull lookers on with sad commorse,  
 Amazd to see what headlong rage designd:  
 And in a more considerate discourse  
 Of tragical euent thereof deuind,  
 And did or might their griued harts to ease  
 Vtter their sorrowes in like termes as these.

109

What dissolute proceedings haue we here?  
 What strange presumptuous disobedience?  
 What vnheard fury void of awe or feare,  
 With monstrous vnexampled insolence?  
 Durst subiects euer here or any where  
 Thus impiously presume so fowle offence?  
 To violate the power commanding all  
 And into iudgement maiestie to call.

O fame conceale and doe not carry word  
 To after-comming ages of our shame;  
 Blot out of bookes and rase out of Record  
 All monuments memorial of the same:  
 Forget to tell how we did lift our sword,  
 And enuious idle accusations frame  
 Against our lawfull sou'raigne, when we ought  
 His end and our release haue staid not fought.

## III

Since better yeares might worke a better care,  
 And time might well haue cur'd what was amisse;  
 Since all these faults fatall to greatnes are,  
 And worse desertes haue not beene punisht thus,  
 But ô in this the heauens we feare prepare  
 Confusion for our sinnes as well as his,  
 And his calamity beginneth our:  
 For he his owne, and we abusd his powre.

## CIII

Thus grieued they: when to the king were sent  
 Certaine that might perswade and vrge him on  
 To leaue his crowne, and make with free consent  
 A voluntarie resignation,  
 Seeing he could no other way preuent  
 The daunger of his owne confusion,  
 For not to yeeld to what feare would constraîne,  
 Would barre the hope of life that did remaine.

And

113

And yet this scarce could worke him to consent  
 To yeeld vp that so soone men hold so deare:  
 Why let him take (said he) the gouernment,  
 And let me yet the name, the title beare:  
 Leau me that shew and I will be content,  
 And let them rule and gouerne without feare:  
 O can they not my shadowe now indure  
 When they of all the rest do stand secure?

114

Let me hold that, I aske no other good:  
 Nay that I will hold, *Henrie* doe thy worst,  
 For ere I yeeld my crowne ile loose my bloud,  
 That bloud that shall make thee and thine accurst:  
 Thus resolute a while he firmly stood,  
 Till loue of life and feare of being forst,  
 Vanquilht th'innated valour of his minde;  
 And hope and friends, so wrought that he resignd.

115

Then to the towre (where he remained) went  
 The *Duke* with all the *Peeres* attended on:  
 To take his offer with his free consent,  
 And testifie his resignation:  
 And thereof to informe the parliament  
 That all things might more formally be done:  
 And men might rest more satisfide thereby  
 As not done of constraint but willingly.

M

And

And forth h'is brought vnto th'accomplishmēt  
 Deckt with the crowne in princely robes that day,  
 Like as the dead in other landes are sent  
 Vnto their graues in all their best aray:  
 And euen like good did him this ornament,  
 For what he brought he must not beare away,  
 But buries there his glory and his name  
 Intombd for euermore in others blame.

And there vnto th' assembly of these states  
 His sorrow for their long indured wrong  
 Through his abused authority relates,  
 Excuses with confessions mixt among:  
 And glad he saies to finish all debates  
 He was to leaue the rule they sought for long,  
 Protesting if it might be for their good  
 He would as gladly sacrifice his blood.

There he his subiects all in generall  
 Assoyles and quites of oth and fealty,  
 Renounces interest, title, right and all  
 That appertained to kingly dignity;  
 Subscribes thereto and doth to witnes call  
 Both heauen and earth, and God and saints on hie,  
 And all this did he but t' haue leaue to liue  
 The which was all he crau'd that they would giue.



119

Tis said with his owne hands he gaue the crowne  
 To *Lancaster*, and wisht to God he might  
 Haue better ioy thereof then he had knowne  
 And that his powre might make it his by right:  
 And furthermore he crau'd of all his owne  
 But life to liue apart a priuate wight;  
 The vanity of greatnes he had tride  
 And how vnshurely standes the foote of pride.

120

This brought to passe the lords returne with speed  
 T'acquaint the Parliament with what is done,  
 Where they at large publiht the kings owne deed  
 And manner of his resignation:  
 When *Canterbury* vrgd them to proceed  
 Forthwith vnto a new election,  
 And *Henry* make his claime both by discent  
 And resignation to the gouernement.

*Arundell*  
*Bishop of*  
*Canterbury.*

121

Who there with full and generall applause  
 Is straight proclaimd as king and after crownd,  
 The other cleane reiectd by the lawes,  
 As one the Realme had most vnworthy found.  
 And yet ô *Lancaster* I would thy cause  
 Had had aslawfull and as sure a ground  
 As had thy vertues, and thy glorious worth  
 For *Empire* borne, for *Gouernment* brought forth:

M 2.

Then

Then had not ô that sad succeding age  
 Her fieldes engrain'd with blood, her riuers dide  
 With purple streaming wounds of her owne rage,  
 Nor seene her Princes slaine, her Peeres distroide:  
 Then hadst not thou deare country come to wage  
 Warre with thy selfe, nor those afflictions tride  
 Of all-consuming discord here so long,  
 Too mighty now against thy selfe too strong.

So had the blood of thirteene battels fought  
 About this quarrell, fatall to our land,  
 Haue beene referu'd with glory to haue brought  
 Nations and kingdomes vnder our commaund:  
 So should all that thy sonne and thou had got,  
 With glorious praise haue still beene in our hand,  
 And that great worthy last of all thy name  
 Had ioind the westerne *Empire* to the same.

So should his great imperiall daughter now  
 Th' admired glory of the earth, hereby  
 Haue had all this nere bordring world to bow  
 To her immortalized maiestie:  
 Then proud *Iberus* Lord not seeking how  
 T'attaine a false-conceiued Monarchie,  
 Had kept his barraine boundes and not haue stood  
 In vaine attempts t' inrich the seas with blood.

125

Nor interposd his greedy medling hands  
 In other mens affaires t' aduance his owne,  
 Nor tyrannisd ouer so manie landes  
 From late obscurity so mighty growne:  
 But we with our vndaunted conquering bandes,  
 Had lent our Ensignes vnto landes vnknowne,  
 And now with more audacious force began  
 To march against th' earths-terror *Ottoman*.

126

Where thou (*O worthy Essex*) whose deare blood  
 Referu'd from these sad times to honour ours,  
 Shouldst haue conducted Armies and now stood  
 Against the strength of all the *Easterne Powres*:  
 There should thy valiant hand perform'd that good  
 Against the barbarisme that all deuoures,  
 That all the states of the redeemed *Earth*  
 Might thee admire, and glorifie thy birth.

127

Thence might thy valor haue brought in despite  
 Eternall *Tropheis* to *Elizas* name,  
 And laid downe at her sacred feete the right  
 Of all thy deedes and glory of the same.  
 All that which by her powre, and by thy might  
 Thou hadst attaind to her immortall fame  
 Had made thee wondred here, admir'd a farre  
 The *Mercury* of peace, the *Mars* of warre.

M 3.

And

And thou my Lord the glorie of my muse  
 Pure-spirited *Mountioy*, th' ornament of men,  
 Hadst had a large and mighty field to vse  
 Thy holie giftes and learned countels then:  
 Whole landes and Prouinces should not excuse  
 Thy trusty faith, nor yet sufficient beene  
 For those great vertues to haue ordered  
 And in a calme obedience gouerned.

Nor had I then at solitary brooke  
 Sate framing bloody accents of these times,  
 Nor told of woundes that grieued eies might looke  
 Vpon the horror of their fathers crimes,  
 But rather a more glorious subiect tooke  
 To register in euerlasting rimes  
 The sacred glories of ELIZABETH,  
 T'haue kept the wonder of her worth from death.

And likewise builded for your great designs  
 O you two worthies bewties of our state,  
 Immortall tombes of vnconsuming lines  
 To keepe your holie deedes inuiolate:  
 You in whose actions yet the image shines  
 Of ancient honor neere worne out of date,  
 You that haue vertue into fashion brought  
 In these neglected times respected nought.

131

But whither am I carried with the thought  
Of what might haue beene, had not this beene so?  
O sacred *Fury* how was I thus brought  
To speake of glory that must tell of wo?  
These acted mischiefes cannot be vnwrought  
Though men be pleasd to wish it were not so.  
And therefore leaue sad *Muse* th' imagin'd good,  
For we must now returne againe to bloud.



171

The winter and the spring  
 I saw with meagre hands  
 O faced I say how sad has brought  
 To look of glory that must be  
 This is the only thing that  
 I thought of when I was  
 And now I see the end  
 For we must now return to the





THE ARGVMENT OF THE THIRD BOOKE.

Henry the fourth the Crowne established,  
The Lords that did to Glosters death consent,  
Degraded doe rebell, are vanquished:  
King Richard vnto Pomfret Castle sent  
Is murdered there. The Percies making head  
Against the king, receive the punishment:  
And in the end a tedious troublous raigne  
A grieuous death concludes with care, and paine.

Now risen is that head, by which did spring (rights;  
The birth of two strong heads, two crownes, two  
That monstrous shape that afterward did bring  
Deform'd confusion to distracted wights:  
Now is attain'd that dearely purchas'd thing  
That filld the world with lamentable sights:  
And now attain'd, all care is how to frame  
Meanes to establish, and to hold the same.

N

Striuing

2

Striuing at first to build a strong conceit  
 Of his weake cause, in apt-abused mindes,  
 He deckes his deed with colours of deceit  
 And ornaments of right, which now he findes :  
 Succession, conquest, and election straight  
 Suggested are, and prou'd in all three kindes :  
 More then inough he findes, that findes his might  
 Hath force to make all that he will haue, right.

3

All these he hath when one good would suffize  
 The worlds applause, and liking to procure,  
 But who his owne cause makes doth still deuise  
 To make too much to haue it more then sure :  
 Feare casts too deepe, and euer is too wise,  
 The doubtfull can no vsuall plots indure :  
 These selfe-accusing titles all he had  
 Seeking to make one good of manie bad.

4

Like foolish he that feares, and faine would stop  
 An inundation working on apace,  
 Runs to the breach, heapes mighty matter vp,  
 Throws indigested burthens on the place,  
 Loades with huge waights, the outside and the top,  
 But leaues the inner parts in feeble case :  
 Thinking for that the outward forme seemes strong  
 Tis sure inough, and may continue long.

But



5

But when the vnderworking waues come on  
 Searching the secrets of vnfenced waies,  
 The full maine *Ocean* following hard vpon  
 Beares downe that idle frame, skorning such staies;  
 Prostrates that frustrate paines as if not done,  
 And proudly on his silly labors plaies,  
 Whilst he perceiues his error, and doth finde  
 His ill proceeding contrary to kind.

6

So fares it with our indirect disfeignes  
 And wrong-contriued labors at the last,  
 Whilst working time or Iustice vndermines  
 The feeble ground-woke craft thought laid so fast:  
 Then when out-breaking vengeance vncombines  
 The ill-ioynd plots so fairely ouercast,  
 Turnes vp those strong pretended heapes of showes  
 And all these weake illusions ouerthrowes.

7

But wel he thought his powre made al seem plain,  
 And now t' his coronation he proceedes,  
 Which in most sumptuous fort (to intertaine  
 The gazing vulgar whom this error feedes)  
 Is furnisht with a stately-glorious traine,  
 Wherein the former kings he far exceeds:  
 And all t' amuse the world, and turne the thought  
 Of what, and how it was done, to what is wrought.

Then

N 2.

And

And that he might on many props repose  
 He strengths his owne, and who his part did take:  
 New officers, new counsellours he chose,  
 His eldest sonne the Prince of *Wales* doth make,  
 His second *Lord high Steward*, and to those  
 Had hazarded their fortunes for his sake  
 He giues them charge, as merites their desart;  
 Seeking all meanes t' oppresse the aduerse part.

All Counsellers vnto the former king,  
 All th' officers, and iudges of the state,  
 He to disgrace, or els to death did bring  
 Lead by his owne, or by the peoples hate:  
 Who euermore by nature mallicing  
 Their might whom not their vertues, but their fate  
 Exalted hath, who when kings do what's naught  
 Because tis in their powre, tis thought their fault.

And plac'd for these such as were popular  
 Belou'd of him, and in the peoples grace,  
 Learned graue *Shirley* he makes *Chauncellor*,  
 One of great spirit, worthy his worthy race:  
 And *Clifford* he ordaines *Lord Treasuror*,  
 A man whose vertues well deseru'd that place:  
 Others to other roomies (whom people hold  
 So much more lou'd how much they loathd the old)  
 Then

17

Then against those he strictly doth proceed  
 Who chiefe of *Glosters* death were guilty thought,  
 (Not so much for the hatred of that deed)  
 But vnder this pretext the meanes he sought,  
 To ruine such whose might did much exceed  
 His powre to wrong, nor els could well be wrought  
 Law, Iustice, bloud, the zeale vnto the dead  
 Were on his side, and his drift shadowed.

12

Here manie of the greatest of the land  
 Accusd were of the act, strong proofes brought out  
 Which strongly were refell'd, the Lords all stand  
 To cleere their cause most resolutely stoute:  
 The king perceiuing what he tooke in hand  
 Was not with safety to be brought about  
 Desistes to vrge their death in anie wise,  
 Respecting number, strength, friends, and allies.

*The Dukes  
 of Surrey,  
 Excester, &  
 Aumarle.  
 The Earles  
 of Salisbur-  
 ry and Glo-  
 ster, the Bi-  
 shop of Car-  
 lile, Sir Tho-  
 mas Blunt  
 and other  
 were the  
 parties ac-  
 cus'd.*

13

Nor was it time now in his tender raigne  
 And infant-young-beginning gouernment,  
 To striue with bloud when lenity must gaine  
 The mighty wight, and please the discontent:  
 New kings do feare, when old courts farther straine,  
 Establish't states to all things will consent:  
 He must dispence with his will, and their crime,  
 And seeke to oppresse and weare them out with time.

N. 3.

Yet

THE THIRD BOOKE

14

Yet not to seeme but to haue something done  
 In what he could not as he would effect,  
 To satisfie the people that begun  
 Reuenge of wrong, and iustice to expect:  
 He could be put to execution  
 One that to doe this murder was elect,  
 A base meane man whom few or none would misse,  
 Who first did serue their turne, and now serues his.

15

And to abase the too high state of those  
 That were accusd, and lessen their degrees,  
*Aumarle, Surry, Exceter*, must lose  
 The names of Dukes, their titles, dignities,  
 And what soeuer honour with it goes:  
 The Earles their titles and their Signories,  
 And all they got in th' end of *Richards* raigne  
 Since *Glosters* death, they must restore againe.

16

By this as if by *Ostracisme* t' abate  
 That great presumptiue wealth, wheron they stand;  
 For first hereby impou'ring their state  
 He kills the meanes they might haue to withstand:  
 Then equals them with other whom they hate  
 Who (by their spoiles) are raisd to hie command;  
 That weake, and enuied if they should conspire  
 They wracke themselues, and he hath his desire.

And

17

And by this grace which yet must be a grace  
 As both they, and the world, are made belieue,  
 He doth himselfe secure and them deface,  
 Thinking not rigor that which life doth giue:  
 But what an error was it in this case  
 To wrong so many, and to let them liue?  
 But errors are no errors but by fate,  
 For oft th' euent make foule faults fortunate.

18

The parlament which now is held, decreed  
 What euer pleas'd the king but to propound;  
 Confirm'd the crowne to him and to his seed,  
 And by their oth their due obedience bound:  
 And ô b' it sinnet' examine now this deed  
 How iust tis done and on how sure a ground?  
 Whether that Court maie change due course or no  
 Or ought the realme against the realme can do?

19

Here was agreed to make all more secure  
 That *Richard* should remaine for euermore  
 Close-prisoner, least the realme might châce indure  
 Some new reuolt, or any fresh vprorc:  
 And that if any should such broile procure  
 By him or for him, he should die therefore.  
 So that a talke of tumult and a breath  
 Would serue him as his passing-bell to death.

Yet

THE THIRD BOOKE.

20

Yet reuerent *Carlike* thou didst there oppose  
 Thy holy voice to saue thy Princes bloud,  
 And freely check't this iudgement and his foes,  
 When all were bad, yet thou dar'st to be good:  
 Be it in old that time may neuer lose  
 The memory how firme thy vertues stood,  
 When powre, disgrace, nor death could ought diuert  
 Thy glorious tongue, thus to reuale thy hart.

21

Graue, reuerent Lords, since that this sacred place  
 Our *Auentine*, *Retire*, our holy hill;  
 This place, soule of our state, the Realmes best grace  
 Doth priuiledge me speake what reason will:  
 O let me speake my conscience in this case  
 Least sin of silence shew my hart was ill,  
 And let these walles witnes if you will not,  
 I do discharge my soule of this foule blot.

22

Neuer shall this poore breath of mine consent  
 That he that two and twenty yeeres hath raignd  
 As lawfull Lord, and king by iust discent,  
 Should here be iudgd vnheard, and vnaraignd  
 By subiects two: Iudges incompetent  
 To iudge their king vnlawfully detaind,  
 And vn-brought forth to plead his guiltles cause,  
 Barring th' annointed libertie of lawes.

Haue

23

Haue you not done inough? blush, blush to thinke,  
 Lay on your harts those hands; those hands too rash,  
 Know that this staine that's made doth farther sinke  
 Into your foules then all your blouds can wash,  
 Leauē with the mischief done and doe not linke  
 Sin vnto sin, for heauen, and earth will dash  
 This ill accomplisht worke ere it be long,  
 For weake he builds that fences wrong with wrong.

24

Stopt there was his too vehemēt speech with speed,  
 And he sent close to warde from where he stood:  
 His zeale vntimely deem'd too much t' exceed  
 The measure of his wit and did no good;  
 They resolute for all this doe proceed  
 Vnto that iudgement could not be withstood:  
 The king had all he crau'd or could compell,  
 And all was done we will not say how well.

25

Now *Muse* relate a wofull accident  
 And tell the bloudshed of these mighty Peeres  
 Who lately reconcild, rest discontent,  
 Grieu'd with disgrace, remaining in their feares  
 How euer seeming outwardly content,  
 Yet th' inward touch that wounded honor beares  
 Rests closely rankling and can find no ease  
 Till death of one side cure this great disease.

O

Meanes

Meanes how to feele, and learne each others hart.  
 By th' *Abbot* now of *Westminster* is found,  
 Who secretly disliking *Henries* part  
 Inuites these Lords, and those he ment to sound,  
 Feasts them with cost, and drawes them on with art,  
 And darke, and doubtful questions doth propound:  
 Then plainer speakes, and yet vncertaine speakes,  
 Then wishes wel, then off abruptly breakes.

My Lords faith he, I feare we shall not finde  
 This long-desired king such as was thought:  
 But yet he may doe well: God turne his minde:  
 Tis yet new daies: but ill bodes new and nought:  
 Some yet speed well: though all men of my kind  
 Haue cause to doubt; his speech is not forgot,  
*That Princes had too little, we too much;*  
 God giue him grace, but tis ill trusting such:

This open-close, apparent-darke discourse  
 Drew on much speech, and euery man replies,  
 And euery man ads heat, and wordes inforce  
 And vrge out words, for when one man espies  
 Anothers minde like his, then ill breedes worse,  
 And out breakes all in th' end what closest lies,  
 For when men well haue fed th' bloud being warme  
 Then are they most improident of harme.



29

Bewray they did their inward boyling spight  
 Each stirring other to reuenge their cause,  
 One saies he neuer should indure the sight  
 Of that forsworne, that wrongs both land and lawes:  
 Another vowes the same of his minde right:  
 A third t' a point more nere the matter drawes,  
 Swears if they would, he would attempt the thing  
 To chaste th' vsurper, and replace their king.

30

Thus one by one kindling each others fire  
 Till all inflam'd they all in one agree,  
 All resolute to prosecute their ire,  
 Seeking their owne, and Countreies cause to free:  
 And haue his first that their blood did conspire,  
 For no way else they said but this could be  
 Their wrong-detained honor to redeeme, (teeme.  
 Which true-bred blood shoulde more then life es-

31

And let not this our new-made faithles Lord  
 Saith *Surry* thinke, that we are left so bare  
 Though bare inough: but we will find a sword  
 To kill him with, when hee shall not beware:  
 For he that is with life and will but stoor'd,  
 Hath for reuenge inough, and needs not care,  
 For time will fit and furnith all the rest,  
 Let him but euen attend, and doe his best.

O 2.

Then

Then of the manner how t' effect the thing  
 Consulted was, and in the end agreed  
 That at a maske and common reuelling (deed;  
 Which should b' ordaind, they should performe the  
 For that would be least doubted of the king  
 And fittest for their safety to proceed,  
 The night, their number, and the suddaine a&  
 Would dash all order, and protect their fact.

Besides they might vnder the faire pretence  
 Of Tilts and Turnements which they intend,  
 Prouide them horse, and armour for defence,  
 And all things else conuenient for their end:  
 Besides they might hold sure intelligence  
 Among themselues without suspect t' offend:  
 The king would think they sought but grace in court  
 Withall their great preparing in this sort.

A solemne oth religiously they make  
 By intermutuall vowes protesting there  
 This neuer to reueale; nor to forsake  
 So good a cause, for daunger hope, or feare:  
 The Sacrament the pledge of faith they take,  
 And euery man vppon his sword doth sweere  
 By knighthood, honor, or what els should binde,  
 To assure the more each others minde.

And

35

And when al this was done, and thought wel done  
 And euery one assures him good successe,  
 And easie seemes the thing to euery one  
 That nought could crosse their plot or the suppresses:  
 Yet one among the rest, whose mind not wonne  
 With th' ouerweening thought of hot excesse,  
 Nor headlong carried with the streame of will,  
 Nor by his owne election lead to ill:

36

Sober, milde *Blunt*, whose learning, valor, wit  
 Had taught true iudgement in the course of things,  
 Knew daungers as they were, and th' humerous fit  
 Of ware-lesse discontent, what end it brings:  
 Counsels their heat with calme graue words, & fit  
 Words wel forethought that from experiēce springs,  
 And warnes a warier cariage in the thing  
 Least blind presumption worke their ruining.

*Sir Thomas  
 Blunt.*

37

My Lords (saith he) I know your wisedomes such  
 As that of my aduise you haue no need,  
 I know you know how much the thing doth touch  
 The maine of all your states, your bloud, your seed:  
 Yet since the same concernes my life as much  
 As his whose hand is chiefest in this deed,  
 And that my foote must go as farre as his,  
 I thinke my tongue may speake what needfull is.

O 3.

The

The thing we enterprize I know doth beare  
 Great possibility of good effect,  
 For that so many men of might there are  
 That venter here this action to direct:  
 Which meaner wights of trust, and credit bare  
 Not so respected could not looke t' effect;  
 For none without great hopes will follow such  
 Whose powre, and honor doth not promise much.

Besides this new, and doubtfull gouernment,  
 The wauering faith of people vaine, and light,  
 The secret hopes of many discontent,  
 The naturall affection to the right,  
 Our lawfull sou'raignes life, in prison pent,  
 Whom men begin to pittie now, not spight,  
 Our wel-laid plot, and all I must confesse  
 With our iust cause doth promise good successe.

But this is yet the outward fairest side  
 Of our disleigne: within rests more of feare,  
 More dread of sad euent yet vndiscride  
 Then ô most worthy Lords I would there were:  
 But yet I speake not this as to deuide  
 Your thoughts from th'a&, or to dismay your cheere,  
 Onely to adde vnto your forward will  
 A moderate feare to cast the worst of ill.

41

Danger before, and in, and after th' act  
 You needs must grant, is great, and to be waigh'd  
 Before: least while we doe the deed protract  
 It be by any of our selues bewraid:  
 For many being priuy to the fact  
 How hard it is to keepe it vnbetraid?  
 When the betrayer shall haue grace and life  
 And rid himselfe of danger and of strife.

42

For though some few continue resolute,  
 Yet many shrinke, which at the first would dare  
 And be the formost men to execute,  
 If th' act, and motion at one instant were:  
 But intermission suffers men dispute  
 What dangers are, and cast with farther care  
 Cold doubt cauels with honor, skorneth fame,  
 And in the end feare waighes down faith with shame.

43

Then in the act, what perils shall we finde  
 If either place, or time, or other course  
 Cause vs to alter th' order now assign'd?  
 Or that, then we expect things happen worse?  
 If either error, or a fainting minde,  
 An indiscreet amazement or remorse  
 In any at that instant should be found,  
 How much it might the act, and all confound?

After

44

After the deed the daungers are no lesse,  
 Least that our forwardnes not seconded  
 By our owne followers, and accomplices  
 Being kept backe or slow or hindered:  
 The hastie multitude rush on t' oppresse  
 Confused weaknes there vnsuccored,  
 Or raise another head of that same race  
 T' auenge his death, and prosecute the case.

45

All this my Lords must be considered  
 The best and worst of that which maie succeed,  
 That valour mixt with feare, boldnes with dread,  
 May march more circumspect with better heed:  
 And to preuent these mischiefes mentioned  
 Is by our faith, our secreisie and speed,  
 For euen already is the worke begun  
 And we rest all vndone, till all be done.

46

And ô I could haue wisht another course  
 In open field t' haue hazarded my bloud,  
 But some are heere whose loue is of that force  
 To draw my life, whom zeale hath not withstood:  
 But like you not of your disseigne the worse  
 If the successe be good your course is good:  
 And ending well our honor then begins,  
 No hand of strife is pure, but that which wins.

This

47

This said, a sad still silence held their minds  
 Vpon the fearefull proiect of their woe,  
 But that not long ere forward fury finds  
 Incouraging perswasions on to go:  
 We must said they, we will, our honour bindes,  
 Our safety bids, our faith must haue it so,  
 We know the worst can come, tis thought vpon,  
 We cannot shift, being in, we must goe on.

48

And on indeed they went, but ô not farre,  
 A fatall stop trauerfd their headlong course,  
 Their drift comes knowne, and they discovered are,  
 For some of many will be false of force:  
*Aumarle* became the man that all did marre  
 Whether through indiscretion, chance or worse  
 He makes his peace with offring others bloud  
 And shewes the king how all the matter stood.

49

Then lo dismaid confusion all posselt  
 Th' afflicted troupe hearing their plot discride,  
 Then runnes amazd distresse with sad vnrest,  
 To this, to that, to flie, to stand, to hide:  
 Distracted terror knew not what was best  
 On what determination to abide,  
 At last despaire would yet stand to the sword,  
 To trie what friends would doe or fate affoord.

P

Then

50

Then this then that mans ayd they craue, implore,  
 Post here for helpe, seeke there their followers;  
 Coniure the frendes they had, labor for more,  
 Sollicite all reputed fauorers,  
 Who *Richards* cause seem'd to affect before,  
 And in his name write, pray, send messengers;  
 To try what faith was left, if by this art  
 Anie would step to take afflictions part:

51

And some were found, & some againe draw backe  
 Vncertaine power could not it selfe retaine,  
 Intreat they may, authority they lacke,  
 And here, and there they march, but all in vaine:  
 With desp'rat course, like those that see their wracke  
 Euen on the Rockes of death, and yet they straine  
 That death maie not them idly find t'attend  
 Their certaine last, but worke to meet their end.

52

And long they stand not ere the chiefe surprizd  
 Conclude with their deare bloud their tragicke:  
 And all the rest disperst, run some disguisd  
 To vnknowne costes, some to the shores do flie,  
 Some to the woodes, or whether feare aduisd,  
 But running from all to destruction hye,  
 The breach once made vpon a battered state  
 Downe goes distresse, no shelter throudes their fate.



53

O now what horror in their soules doth grow?  
 What sorrowes with their frendes, and nere allyes?  
 What mourning in their ruin'd houses now?  
 How many childrens plaints and mothers cryes?  
 How many wofull widowes left to bow  
 To sad disgrace? what perisht families? (frame  
 What heires of hie rich hopes their thought smust  
 To bace-downe-looking pouerty and shame!

54

This slaughter, and calamitie forgoes  
 Thy eminent destruction wofull king,  
 This is the bloudie comet of thy woes  
 That doth fortell thy present ruyning:  
 Here was thy end decreed when these men rose  
 And euen with their, this act thy death did bring  
 Or hastened, at the least vpon this ground;  
 Yet if not this, another had beene found,

55

Kinges ( Lordes of times and of occasions )  
 May take th' aduantage, when, and how they list,  
 For now the Realme with these rebellions  
 Vext, and turmoyle, was thought would not resist  
 Nor feele the wound, when like confusions  
 Should by this meanes be stayd, as all men wist,  
 The cause be'ing once cut off, that did molest,  
 The land should haue her peace, and he his rest.

He knew this time, and yet he would not seeme  
 Too quicke to wrath, as if affecting bloud;  
 But yet complains so far, that men might deeme  
 He would twere done, and that he thought it good;  
 And wilht that some would so his life esteeme  
 As rid him of these feares wherein he stood:  
 And therewith eies a knight, that then was by,  
 Who soone could learne his lesson by his eie.

*This Knight  
 was Sir  
 Pierce of  
 Exton.*

The man he knew was one that willingly  
 For one good looke would hazard soule and all,  
 An instrument for any villanie,  
 That needed no commission more at all:  
 A great ease to the king that should hereby  
 Not need in this a course of iustice call,  
 Nor seeme to wil the act, for though what's wrought  
 Were his own deed, he grieues should so be thought.

So foule a thing ô thou iniustice art  
 That tortrest both the doer and distrest,  
 For when a man hath done a wicked part,  
 O how he striues t' excuse to make the best,  
 To shift the fault, t' vnburthen his charg'd hart  
 And glad to finde the least surmise of rest:  
 And if he could make his seeme others sin,  
 O what repose, what ease he findes therein?

This

59

This knight, but ô why should I call him knight  
 To giue impiety this reuerent stile,  
 Title of honour, worth, and vertues right  
 Should not be giuen to a wretch so vile?  
 O pardon me if I doe not aright,  
 It is because I will not here defile  
 My vnstaind verse with his opprobrious name,  
 And grace him so to place him in the same.

60

This catife goes and with him takes eight more  
 As desperat as himselfe; impiously bold  
 Such villaines as he knew would not abhorre  
 To execute what wicked a& he would,  
 And hastes him downe to *Pomfret* where before  
 The restles king conuaid, was laide in hold: (bring  
 There would he do the deed he thought should  
 To him great grace and fauour with his king.

61

Whether the soule receiue intelligence  
 By her nere *Genius* of the bodies end,  
 And so impartes a sadnesse to the sense  
 Forgoing ruine whereto it doth tend:  
 Or whether nature else hath conference  
 With profound sleepe, and so doth warning send  
 By prophetizing dreames what hurt is neere,  
 And giues the heaue carefull hart to feare:

P 3.

How

How euer so it is, the now sad king  
 Tost here and there his quiet to confound,  
 Feeles a straunge waight of sorrowes gathering  
 Vpon his trembling hart, and sees no ground:  
 Feeles sodayne terror bring cold shiuering.  
 Lifts not to eat, still muses, sleepest vnfound,  
 His sences droope, his steedy eye vnquicke  
 And much he ayles, and yet hee is not sicke.

The morning of that day, which was his last,  
 After a weary rest ryding to paine  
 Out at a little grate his eyes he cast  
 Vppon those bordering hils, and open plaine,  
 And viewes the towne, and sees how people past,  
 Where others libertie makes him complaine  
 The more his owne, and grieues his soule the more  
 Conferring captiue-Crownes with freedome pore.

O happie man, saith hee, that lo I see  
 Grazing his cattel in those pleasant fieldes!  
 O if he knew his good, how blessed hee  
 That feeles not what affliction greatnes yeeldes,  
 Other then what he is he would not bee,  
 Nor chaung his state with him that Scepters weildes:  
 O thine is that true life, that is to liue,  
 To rest secure, and not rise vp to grieue.

Thou

65

Thou sit'st at home safe by thy quiet fire  
 And hear'st of others harmes, but seelest none;  
 And there thou telst of kinges and who aspire,  
 Who fall, who rise, who triumphs, who doe mone:  
 Perhappes thou talkst of mee, and dost inquire  
 Of my restraint, why here I liue alone,  
 O know tis others sin not my defart,  
 And I could wish I were but as thou art.

66

Thrice-happie you that looke as from the shore  
 And haue no venter in the wracke you see,  
 No sorrow, no occasion to deplore  
 Other mens trauayles while your selues sit free.  
 How much doth your sweet rest make vs the more  
 To see our misery and what we bee?  
 Oblinded greatnes! thou with thy turmoyle  
 Still seeking happie life, mak'st life a toyle.

67

But looke on mee, and note my troubled raigne,  
 Examine all the course of my vext life;  
 Compare my little ioyes with my long paine,  
 And note my pleasures rare, my sorrowes rife,  
 My childhood spent in others pride, and gaine,  
 My youth in daunger, farther yeares in strife,  
 My courses crost, my deedes wrest to the worst,  
 My honour spoild, my life in daunger forst.

This

This is my state, and this is all the good  
 That wretched I haue gotten by a crowne,  
 This is the life that costes men so much bloud  
 And more then bloud to make the same their owne,  
 O had not I then better beene t' haue stood  
 On lower ground, and safely liu'd vnknowne,  
 And beene a heards man rather then a king,  
 Which inexperience thinkes so sweet a thing.

*Dioclesian  
 the Empe-  
 ror.*

O thou great *Monarch*, and more great therefore  
 For skorning that whereto vaine pride aspires,  
 Reckning thy gardens in *Illiria* more  
 Then all the Empire; took'st those sweet retires:  
 Thou well didst teach, that ô he is not poore  
 That little hath, but he that much desires:  
 Finding more true delight in that small ground  
 Then in possessing all the earth was found.

But what do I repeating others good  
 To vex mine owne perplexed soule the more?  
 Alas how should I now free this poore bloud  
 And care-worne body from this state restore?  
 How should I looke for life or liuely-hood  
 Kept here distrest to die, condemnd before,  
 A sacrifice prepared for his peace  
 That can but by my death haue his release?

Are

71

Are that kings freedom giue themselues not free,  
 As meaner men to take what they maie giue?  
 O are they of so fatall a degree  
 That they cannot discend from that and liue?  
 Vnlesse they still be kings can they not bee,  
 Nor maie they their autority suruiue?  
 Will not my yeelded crowne redeeme my breath?  
 Still am I fear'd? is there no way but death?

72

Scarce this word death had sorrow vttered,  
 But in rusht one, and tels him how a knight  
 Is come from court, his name deliuered.  
 What newes with him said he that traiterous wight?  
 What more remoues? must we be farther lead?  
 Are we not sent inough yet out of sight?  
 Or hath this place not strength sufficient  
 To guard vs in? or haue they worse intent?

73

By this the bloody troope were at the dore,  
 When as a sodaine and a strange dismay  
 Inforst them straine, who should go in before;  
 One offers, and in offering makes a stay:  
 Another forward sets and doth no more,  
 A third the like, and none durst make the way:  
 So much the horror of so vile a deed  
 In vilest mindes hinders them to proceed.

Q

At

At length, as to some great assault the knight  
 Cheeres vp his fainting men all that he can,  
 And valiantly their courage doth incite  
 And all against one weake vnarmed man:  
 A great exployt worthy a man of might,  
 Much honour wretch therein thy valor wan:  
 Ah poore weake prince, yet men that presence feare  
 Which once they knew autoritie did beare.

Then on thrustes one, and he would formost be  
 To shead anothers bloud, but lost his owne;  
 For entring in, as soone as he did see  
 The face of maiestie to him well knowne,  
 Like *Marius* soldier at *Minternum*, hee  
 Stood still amazd his courage ouerthrowne:  
 The king seeing this, startes vp from where he sat  
 Out from his trembling hand his weapon gate.

Thus euen his foes that came to bring him death,  
 Bring him a weapon that before had none,  
 That yet he might not idly loose his breath,  
 But die reuengd in action not alone:  
 And this good chaunce that this much faouureth  
 He slackes not, for he presently speedes one,  
 And Lion-like vpon the rest he flies,  
 And here falles one, and there another lies.



77

And vp and downe he trauerfes his ground,  
 Now wardes a felling blow, now strikes againe,  
 Then nimblely shiftes a thrust, then lendes a wound,  
 Now backe he giues, then rushes on amaine,  
 His quicke and readie hand doth so confound  
 These shamefull beastes that foure of them lies slain,  
 And all had perisht happily and well  
 But for one act, that ô I greiue to tell.

78

This coward knight seeing with shame and feare  
 His men thus slaine and doubting his owne end,  
 Leapes vp into a chaire that lo was there,  
 The whiles the king did all his courage bend  
 Against those foure that now before him were,  
 Doubting not who behind him doth attend,  
 And plies his handes vndaunted, vnaffearde  
 And with good hart, and life for life he stird.

79

And whiles he this, and that, and each mans blow  
 Doth eye defend, and shift, being laid to fore,  
 Backward he beares for more aduantage now,  
 Thinking the wall would safegard him the more,  
 When lo with impious hand o wicked thou  
 That shamefull durst not come to strike before,  
 Behind him gau't that wofull deadly wound,  
 That laid that most sweet Prince flat on the ground:

Q 2.

Monster

Monster of men, ô what hast thou here done  
 Vnto an ouerpressed innocent,  
 Lab'ring against so many, he but one,  
 And one poore soule with care, with sorrow spent?  
 O could thy eies indure to looke vpon  
 Thy hands disgrace, or didst thou then relent?  
 But what thou didst I will not here deuine  
 Nor straine my thoughts to enter into thine.

But leaue thee wretch vnto blacke infamie,  
 To darke eternall horror, and disgrace,  
 The hatefull skorne to all posterity,  
 The out-cast of the world, last of thy race  
 Of whose curst seed, nature did then deny  
 To bring forth more her faire workes to deface:  
 And as asham'd to haue produc'd that past  
 She staies her hand, and makes this worst her last.

There lies that comely body all imbrude  
 With that pure bloud, mixt with that fowle he shed:  
 O that those sacred streames with such vile rude  
 Vnhallowed matter should be mingled!  
 O why was grossenes with such grace indude,  
 To be with that sweet mixture honoured?  
 Or seru'd it but as some vile graue ordaind,  
 Where an embalmed corpes should be containd?

94

Those faire distended limmes all trembling lay,  
 Whom yet nor life nor death their owne could call,  
 For life remou'd had not rid all away,  
 And death though entring seas'd not yet on all:  
 That short-tim'd motion (that soone finish shall  
 The mouer ceasing) yet a while doth stay,  
 As th' organ sound a time suruiues the stop  
 Before it doth the dying note giue vp:

84

So holdes those organs of that goodly frame  
 The weake remaines of life a little space,  
 But ah full soone cold death posselt the same,  
 Set are those sun-like eies, bloudlesse that face,  
 And all that comely whole a lump became,  
 All that fair forme which death could scarce disgrace  
 Lies perisht thus, and thus vntimely fate  
 Hath finisht his most miserable state.

85

And thus one king most nere in bloud allide  
 Is made th' oblation for the others peace:  
 Now onely one, both name and all beside  
 Intirely hath, plurality doth cease:  
 He that remaines, remaines vnterrifide  
 With others right; this day doth all release:  
 And henceforth he is absolutely king,  
 No crownes but one, this deed confirms the thing.

Q 3.

And

And yet new *Hydraes* lo, new heades appeare  
 T'afflict that peace reputed then so sure,  
 And gaue him much to do, and much to feare,  
 And long and daungerous tumults did procure,  
 And those euen of his chiefeft followers were  
 Of whom he might presume him most secure,  
 Who whether not so grac'd or so preferd  
 As they expected, these new factions stird.

The *Percyes* were the men, men of great might,  
 Strong in alliance, and in courage strong  
 That thus conspire, vnder pretence to right  
 The crooked courses they had suffered long:  
 Whether their conscience yrgd them or despight,  
 Or that they saw the part they tooke was wrong,  
 Or that ambition hereto did them call,  
 Or others enuide grace, or rather all.

What cause soeuer were, strong was their plot,  
 Their parties great, meanes good, th'occasion fit:  
 Their practise close, their faith suspected not,  
 Their states far off and they of wary wit:  
 Who with large promises draw in the Score  
 To ayde their cause, he likes, and yeeldes to it,  
 Not for the loue of them or for their good,  
 But glad hereby of meanes to shed our bloud.

Then

89

Then ioyne they with the *Welsh*, who fitly traind  
 And all in armes vnder a mightie head  
 Great *Glendowr*, who long warr'd, and much attaind,  
 Sharp conflicts made, and many vanquished: *Owen  
Glendowr.*  
 With whom was *Edmond Earle of March* retaind  
 Being first his prisoner, now confedered,  
 A man the king much fear'd, and well he might  
 Least he should looke whether his Crown stood right.

90

For *Richard*, for the quiet of the state,  
 Before he tooke those *Irish* warres in hand *Rich. 2<sup>d</sup>*  
 About succession doth deliberate,  
 And finding how the certaine right did stand,  
 With full consent this man did ordinate  
 The heyre apparent to the crowne and land:  
 Then iudge if this the king might nerely touch,  
 Although his might were smal, his right being much.

91

With these the *Percyes* them confederate,  
 And as thre heades they league in one intent,  
 And instituting a Triumvirate  
 Do part the land in triple gouernment:  
 Deuiding thus among themselues the state,  
 The *Percyes* should rule all the North from *Trent*  
 And *Glendowr* *Wales*: the *Earle of March* should bee  
 Lord of the South from *Trent*; and thus they greene  
 Then

Then those two helpes which still such actors find  
 Pretence of common good, the kings disgrace  
 Doth fit their course, and draw the vulgar mind  
 To further them and aide them in this case,  
 The king they accusd for cruell, and vnkind  
 That did the state, and crowne, and all deface;  
 A periurde man that held all faith in skorne,  
 Whose trusted othes had others made forsworne.

Besides the odious detestable act  
 Of that late murdered king they aggrauate,  
 Making it his that so had will'd the fact  
 That he the doers did remunerate:  
 And then such taxes daily doth exact  
 That were against the orders of the state,  
 And with all these or worse they him assaile  
 Who late of others with the like preuaild.

Thus doth contentious proud mortality  
 Afflict each other and it selfe torment:  
 And thus o thou mind-tortring misery  
 Restles ambition, borne in discontent,  
 Turne st and retossest with iniquity  
 The vnconstant courses frailty did inuent:  
 And fowlst faire order and defilst the earth  
 Fostring vp warre, father of bloud and dearth.

Great

95

Great seemd the cause, and greatly to, did ad  
 The peoples loue thereto these crimes rehearst,  
 That manie gathered to the troupes they had  
 And many more do flocke from costs disperst:  
 But when the king had heard these newes so bad,  
 Th'vnlookt for dangerous toyle more nearly perst;  
 For bêt t'wards *Wales* t' appease those tumults there,  
 H'is for st diuert his course, and them forbear.

96

Not to giue time vnto th'increasing rage  
 And gathering fury, forth he hastes with speed,  
 Lest more delay or giuing longer age  
 To th'euill growne, it might the cure exceed:  
 All his best men at armes, and leaders sage  
 All he prepar'd he could, and all did need;  
 For to a mighty worke thou goest ô king,  
 To such a field that power to power shall bring.

97

There shall young *Hotespur* with a fury lead  
 Meete with thy forward sonne as fierce as he:  
 There warlike *Worster* long experienced  
 In forraine armes, shall come t'incounter thee:  
 There *Douglas* to thy *Stafford* shall make head:  
 There *Vernon* for thy valiant *Blunt* shalbe:  
 There shalt thou find a doubtfull bloody day,  
 Though sicknesse keepe *Northumberland* away.

*The son  
 to the  
 Earle of  
 Northū-  
 berland.*

R I.

Who

Who yet referu'd, though after quit for this,  
 Another tempest on thy head to raise,  
 As if still wrong reuenging *Nemesis*  
 Did meane t'afflict all thy continuall dayes:  
 And yet this field he happely might misse  
 For thy great good, and therefore well he staies:  
 What might his force haue done being ioynd there  
 When that already gaue so much to do? (to,

The swift approach and vnexpected speed  
 The king had made vpon this new-raisd force  
 In th'vnconfirmed troupes much feare did breed,  
 Vntimely hindring their intended course;  
 The ioyning with the *Welsh* they had decreed  
 Was hereby stopt, which made their part the worse,  
*Northumberland* with forces from the *North*  
 Expected to be there, was not set forth.

And yet vndaunted *Hotspur* seeing the king  
 So nere approach'd, leauing the worke in hand  
 With forward speed his forces marshalling,  
 Sets forth his farther comming to withstand:  
 And with a cheerfull voice encouraging  
 By his great spirit his well imboldned band,  
 Bringes a strong host of firme resolved might,  
 And plac'd his troupes before the king in fight.



101

This day (saith he) ô faithfull valiaunt frendes,  
 What euer it doth giue, shall glorie giue:  
 This day with honor frees our state, or endes  
 Our misery with fame, that still shall liue,  
 And do but thinke how well this day he spendes,  
 That spendes his bloud his countrey to relieue:  
 Our holie cause, our freedome, and our right,  
 Sufficient are to moue good mindes to fight.

102

Besides th'assured hope of victory  
 That wee may euen promise on our side  
 Against this weake-constrained companie,  
 Whom force & feare, not will, and loue doth guide  
 Against a prince, whose foule impiety  
 The heauens do hate, the earth cannot abide,  
 Our number being no lesse, our courage more,  
 What need we doubt if we but worke therefore.

103

This said, and thus resolu'd euen bent to charge  
 Vpon the king, who well their order viewd  
 And carefull noted all the forme at large  
 Of their proceeding, and their multitude:  
 And deeming better if he could discharge  
 The day with safetie, and some peace conclude,  
 Great proffers sendes of pardon, and of grace  
 If they would yeeld, and quietnes imbrace.

R 2.

But

But this refusd, the king with wrath incensd  
 Rage against fury doth with speed prepare:  
 And ô faith he, though I could haue dispensd  
 With this daies blood, which I haue sought to spare  
 That greater glory might haue recompensd  
 The forward worth of these that so much dare,  
 That we might honor had by th'ouerthrowne (own)  
 That th' wounds we make, might not haue bin our

Yet since that other mens iniquity  
 Calles on the sword of wrath against my will,  
 And that themselues exact this cruelty,  
 And I constrained am this blood to spill:  
 Then on my maisters, on couragiously  
 True-harted subiects against traitors ill,  
 And spare not them who seeke to spoile vs all,  
 Whose fowle confused end soone see you shall.

Straight moues with equall motion equall rage  
 The like incensd armies vnto blood,  
 One to defend, another side to wage  
 Foule ciuill war, both vowes their quarrell good:  
 Ah too much heate to blood doth now inrage  
 Both who the deed prouokes and who withstood,  
 That valor here is vice, here manhood sin,  
 The forward st hands doth ô least honor win.

107

But now begin these fury-mouing foundes  
 The notes of wrath that musicke brought from hell,  
 The ratling drums which trumpets voice cōfounds,  
 The cryes, th'incouragements, the shouting shrill;  
 That all about the beaten ayre reboundes,  
 Thundring confused, murmurs horrible,  
 To rob all sence except the sence to fight,  
 Well handes may worke, the mind hath lost his sight.

108

O war! begot in pride and luxury,  
 The child of wrath and of dissention,  
 Horrible good; mischief necessarie,  
 The fowle reformer of confusion,  
 Vniust-iust scourge of our iniquitie,  
 Cruell recurer of corruption:  
 O that these sin-sicke states in need should stand  
 To be let bloud with such a boystrous hand!

109

And ô how well thou hadst bene spar'd this day  
 Had not wrong counsaile Percy bene peruers,  
 Whose yong vndanger'd hand now rash makes way  
 Vpon the sharpest fronts of the most fierce:  
 Where now an equall fury thrusts to stay  
 And rebeat-backe that force and his disperse,  
 Then these assaile, then those chace backe againe,  
 Till staid with new-made hils of bodies slaine.

*The  
 Prince  
 of Wales.*

R 3.

There

There lo that new-appearing glorious starre  
 Wonder of Armes, the terror of the field  
 Young *Henrie*, laboring where the stoutest are,  
 And euen the stoutest forces backe to yeild,  
 There is that hand boldned to bloud and warre  
 That must the sword in woundrous actions weild:  
 But better hadst thou learnd with others bloud  
 A lesse expence to vs, to thee more good.

Hadst thou not therè lent present speedy ayd  
 To thy indaungerde father nerely tyrde,  
 Whom fierce incountring *Douglas* ouerlaid,  
 That day had there his troublous life expird:  
 Heroycall Couragious *Blunt* araid  
 In habite like as was the king attirde  
 And deemd for him, excusd that fate with his,  
 For he had what his Lord did hardly misse.

For thought a king he would not now disgrace  
 The person then supposd, but princelike shewes  
 Glorious effects of worth that fit his place,  
 And fighting dyes, and dying ouerthrowes:  
 Another of that forward namic and race  
 In that hotte worke his valiant life bestowes,  
 Who bare the standard of the king that day,  
 Whose colours ouerthrowne did much dismaie.

And

*Which was  
 sir Walter  
 Blunt*

*Another  
 Blunt  
 which was  
 the kings  
 Standard  
 bearer.*

113

And deare it cost, and ô much bloud is shed  
 To purchase thee this loosing victory  
 O trauayld king: yet hast thou conquered  
 A doubtfull day, a mightie enemy:  
 But ô what woundes, what famous worth lyes dead!  
 That makes the winner looke with sorrowing eye,  
 Magnanimous *Stafford* lost that much had wrought, *Sir Hugh*  
 And valiant *Shorly* who great glory got. *Shorly.*

114

Such wracke of others bloud thou didst behold  
 Of furious *Hotspur*, ere thou lost thine owne!  
 Which now once lost that heate in thine waxt cold,  
 And soone became thy Armie ouerthrowne;  
 And ô that this great spirit, this courage bold,  
 Had in some good cause bene rightly showne!  
 So had not we thus violently then  
 Haue term'd that rage, which valor should haue ben.

115

But now the king retires him to his peace,  
 A peace much like a feeble sickemans sleepe,  
 (Wherein his waking paines do neuer cease  
 Though seeming rest his closed eyes doth keepe)  
 For ô no peace could euer so release  
 His intricate turmoiles, and sorrowes deepe,  
 But that his cares kept waking all his life  
 Continue on till death conclude the strife.

Whose

Whose harald sicknes, being sent before  
 With full commission to denounce his end,  
 And paine, and griefe, enforcing more and more,  
 Besiegd the hold that could not long defend,  
 And so consum'd all that imboldning store  
 Of hote gaine-striving bloud that did contend,  
 Wearing the wall so thin that now the mind  
 Might well looke thorow, and his frailty find.

When lo, as if the vapours vanisht were,  
 Which heate of boyling bloud & health did breed,  
 (To cloude the sence that nothing might appeare  
 Vnto the thought, that which it was indeed)  
 The lightned soule began to see more cleere  
 How much it was abusd, & notes with heed  
 The plaine discouered falsehood open laid  
 Of ill perswading flesh that so betraid.

And lying on his last afflicted bed  
 Where death & conscience both before him stand,  
 Th'one holding out a booke wherein he red  
 In bloudie lines the deedes of his owne hand;  
 The other shewes a glasse, which figured  
 An ougly forme of fowle corrupted sand:  
 Both bringing horror in the hyest degree  
 With what he was, and what he straight should bee.

Which

## 119

Which seeing all confusd trembling with feare  
 He lay a while, as ouerthrowne in sprite,  
 At last commaunds some that attending were  
 To fetch the crowne and set it in his sight,  
 On which with fixed eye and heauy cheere  
 Casting a looke, *O God* (saith he) what right  
 I had to thee my soule doth now conceiue;  
 Thee, which with bloud I gote, with horror leaue.

## 120

Wert thou the cause my climing care was such  
 To passe those boundes, nature, and law ordaind?  
 Is this that good which promised so much,  
 And seemd so glorious ere it was attaind?  
 Wherein was neuer ioye but gaue a touch  
 To checke my soule to thinke, how thou wert gaind,  
 And now how do I leaue thee vnto mine,  
 Which it is dread to keepe, death to resigne.

## 121

With this the soule rapt wholly with the thought  
 Of such distresse, did so attentiu weigh  
 Her present horror, whilst as if forgote  
 The dull consumed body senceles lay,  
 And now as breathles quite, quite dead is thought,  
 When lo his sonne comes in; and takes awaie  
 The fatall crowne from thence, and out he goes  
 As if vnwilling longer time to lose.

And whilst that sad confused soule doth cast  
 Those great accounts of terror and distresse,  
 Vppon this counsell it doth light at last  
 How she might make the charge of horror lesse,  
 And finding no way to acquit thats past  
 But onely this, to vse some quicke redresse  
 Of acted wrong, with giuing vp againe  
 The crowne to whom it seem'd to appertaine.

Which found, lightned with some small ioy shee  
 Rouses her seruants that dead sleeping lay, (hyes,  
 (The members of hir house,) to exercise  
 One feeble dutie more; during her stay:  
 And opening those darke windowes he espies  
 The crowne for which he lookt was borne awaie,  
 And all-agrieu'd with the vnkind offence  
 He causd him bring it backe that tooke it thence.

To whom (excusing his presumteous deed  
 By the supposing him departed quite)  
 He said: ô Sonne what needes thee make such speed  
 Vnto that care, where feare exceeds thy right,  
 And where his sinne whom thou shalt now succeed  
 Shall still vpbraid thy inheritance of might,  
 And if thou canst liue, and liue great from wo  
 Without this carefull trauaile; let it go.



125

Nay father since your fortune did attaine  
 So hie a stand: I meane not to descend,  
 Replies the Prince; as if what you did gaine  
 I were of spirit vnable to defend:  
 Time will appease them well that now complaine,  
 And ratefie our interest in the end;  
 What wrong hath not continuance quite outworne?  
 Yeares makes that right which neuer was forborne.

126

If so, God worke his pleasure (said the king)  
 And ô do thou contend with all thy might  
 Such euidence of vertuous deeds to bring,  
 That well may proue our wrong to be our right:  
 And let the goodnes of the managing  
 Race out the blot of foule attayning quite:  
 That discontent may all aduantage misse  
 To, with it otherwise then now it is.

127

And since my death my purpose doth preuent  
 Touching this sacred warre I tooke in hand,  
 (An action wherewithall my soule had ment  
 To appease my God, and reconcile my land)  
 To thee is left to finish my intent,  
 Who to be safe must neuer idly stand,  
 But some great actions entertaine thou still  
 To hold their mindes who else will practise ill.

S 2.

Thou

Thou hast not that aduantage by my raigne  
 To riot it (as they whom long descent  
 Hath purchas'd loue by custome) but with payne  
 Thou must contend to buy the worlds content:  
 What their birth gaue them, thou hast yet to gaine  
 By thine owne vertues, and good gouernment,  
 And that vnles thy worth confirme the thing  
 Thou canst not be the father to a king.

Nor art thou born in those calme daies, where rest  
 Hath brought a sleepe sluggish securitie;  
 But in tumultuous times, where mindes adrest  
 To factions are inurd to mutinie,  
 A mischief not by force to be suppress  
 Where rigor still begets more enmitie,  
 Hatred must be beguild with some new course  
 Where states are strong, & princes doubt their force

This and much more affliction would haue said  
 Out of th' experience of a troublous raigne,  
 For which his high desires had dearly paide  
 Th' interest of an euer-toyling paine:  
 But that this all-subduing powre here staid  
 His faultring tongue and paine r'inforc'd againe,  
 And cut off all the passages of breath  
 To bring him quite vnder the state of death.

113

In whose possession I must leaue him now,  
And now into the *Ocean* of new toyles,  
Into the stormie Maine where tempests grow  
Of greater ruines, and of greater spoiles  
Set forth my course to hasten on my vow  
O're all the troublous deepe of these turmoiles:  
And if I may but liue t'attaine the shore  
Of my desired end, I wish no more.

132

Help on ô sou'raigne *Muse*, helpe on my course  
If these my toyles be gratefull in thy eyes;  
Or but looke on, to cheere my feeble force  
That I faint not in this great enterprize:  
And you ô worthy you, that take remorse  
Of my estate, and helpe my thoughts to rise;  
Continue still your grace that I may giue  
End to the worke, wherein your worth may liue.

In whole possession I must stand firm  
 And now into the crown of new joys  
 I to the female strains where I am  
 Of greater rince and of greater joys  
 So forth may come to nation on my  
 Give all the world a hope of love  
 And fit may be the time to show  
 O my delight end I will know

Help on ô fortune give thy help on my cause  
 If these my joys be what I see  
 O but look on to cheer my people  
 That I think not in this great enterprise  
 And you ô worthy you that take  
 O my effort and help my thought to rise  
 Continue still our grace that may give  
 End to the world when in your work may live



THE ARGVMENT OF THE FOUVRTH BOOKE.

Henry the fifth cuts off his enemy  
The earle of Cambridge that conspir'd his death:  
Henry the sixth married vnluckely  
His and his countryes glory ruineth:  
Suffolke that made the match preferd too hie  
Going to exile a pirat murthereth:  
What meanes the Duke of Yorke obserud to gaine  
The worlds goodwill, seeking the crowne t' attaine.

I

CLOSE smothered lay the low depressed fire,  
Whose after-issuing flames confounded all  
Whilst thou victorious *Henry* didst conspire  
The wracke of *Fraunce*, that at thy feete did fall:  
Whilst ioyes of gotten spoiles, and new desire  
Of greater gaine to greater deedes did call (taine  
Thy conquering troupes, that could no thoughts re-  
But thoughts of glorie all that working raigne.

*Hen. 5.*

What

2

What do I feele ô now in passing by  
 These blessed times that I am forst to leaue?  
 What trembling sad remorse doth terrefie  
 M' amazed thought with what I do conceiue?  
 What? doth my pen commit impietic  
 To passe those sacred *tropheis* without leaue?  
 And do I sin not to salute your ghostes  
 Great worthies, so renown'd in forraine coasts?

3

Who do I see out of the darke appeare,  
 Couered almost with clowdes as with the night,  
 That here presents him with a martiall cheere  
 Seeming of dreadfull, and yet louely sight?  
 Whose eye giues courage, & whose brow hath feare  
 Both representing terror and delight,  
 And staies my course, and off my purpose breakes,  
 And in obraiding wordes thus fierly speakes.

4

Vngratefull times that impiouſly neglect  
 That worth that neuer times againe shall shew,  
 Whatmerites all our toile no more respect?  
 Or else standes idlenes asham'd to know  
 Those wondrous A&tions that do so obiect  
 Blame to the wanton, sin vnto the slow?  
 Can *England* see the best that shee can boast  
 Ly thus vngrac'd, vndeckt, and almost lost?

Why

5

Why do you seeke for fained *Palladins*  
 Out of the smoke of idle vanitie,  
 That maie giue glorie to the true disignes  
 Of *Bourchier; Talbot, Neuile, Willoughby?*  
 Why should not you striue to fill vp your lines  
 With wonders of your owne, with veritie?  
 T' inflame their offspring with the loue of Good  
 And glorious true examples of their blood.

6

O what eternall matter here is found!  
 Whence new immortall *Iliads* might proceed,  
 That those whose happie graces do abound  
 In blessed accents here maie haue to feed  
 Good thoughts, on no imaginary ground  
 Of hungrie shadowes which no profit breed:  
 Whence musicke like, instant delight may grow,  
 But when men all do know they nothing know.

7

And why dost thou in lamentable verse  
 Nothing but bloodshed, treasons, sin and shame,  
 The worst of times, th'extream of ils rehearse,  
 To raise old staines, and to renew dead blame?  
 As if the minds of th'evill, and peruerse  
 Were not far sooner trained from the same  
 By good example of faire vertuous acts,  
 Then by the shew of foule vngodly facts.

T

O

O that our times had had some sacred wight,  
 Whose wordes as happie as our swordes had bin  
 To haue prepar'd for vs *Tropheis* aright:  
 Of vndecaying frames t'haue rested in:  
 Triumphant Arkes of perdurable might  
 O holy lines: that such aduantage win  
 Vpon the Sieth of time in spight of yeares,  
 How blessed they that gaine what neuer weares.

What is it ô to do, if what we do  
 Shall perish nere as soone as it is donne?  
 What is that glorie we attaine vnto  
 With all our toile, if lost as soone as wonne?  
 O small requitall for so great a doo  
 Is this poore present breath a smoake soone gone;  
 Or these dombe stones erected for our sake,  
 Which formles heapes few stormie chaunges make.

Tell great ELIZA since her daies are grac'd  
 With those bright ornaments to vs denide,  
 That she repaire what darknes hath defac'd,  
 And get our ruyn'd deedes reedifide:  
 Shee in whose all directing eye is plac'd  
 A powre the highest powers of wit to guide,  
 She may commaund the worke and ouersee  
 The holy frame that might eternall bee.



## 11

O would she be content that time should make  
 A rauenous pray vpon her glorious raigne;  
 That darknes and the night should ouertake  
 So cleere a brightnes, shining without staine?  
 Ah no, she fosters some no doubt that wake  
 For her eternity, with pleasing paine:  
 And if she for her selfe prepare this good,  
 O let her not neglect those of her bloud.

## 12

This that great *Monarch Henry* seemd to craue;  
 When (weighing what a holy motiue here  
 Vertue proposd, and fit for him to haue,  
 Whom all times ought of dutie hold most deare)  
 I sighd, and wishd that some would take t'ingraue  
 With curious hand so proud a worke to reare,  
 To grace the present, and to blesse times past,  
 That might for euer to our glorie last.

*Hen. 5.*

## 13

So should our well taught times haue learn'd alike  
 How faire shind vertue, and how foule vice stood,  
 When now my selfe haue driuen to mislike  
 Those deedes of worth I dare not vow for good:  
 I cannot mone who lose, nor praise who seeke  
 By mightie Actions to aduaunce their bloud;  
 I must saie who wrought most, least honor had,  
 How euer good the cause, the deedes were bad.

odW

T 2.

And

14

And onely tell the worst of euery raine  
 And not the intermedled good report,  
 I leaue what glorye vertue did attaine  
 At th'euermemorabile Agincorte:  
 I leaue to tell what wit, what powre did gaine  
 Th'assieged *Roan*, *Caen*, *Dreux*, or in what sort:  
 How maiestie with terror did aduaunce  
 Her conquering foote on all subdued *Fraunce*.

15

All this I passe, and that magnanimous King  
 Mirror of vertue, miracle of worth,  
 Whose mightie Actions with wise managing  
 Forst prouder boasting climes to serue the *North*:  
 The best of all the best the earth can bring  
 Skarse equals him in what his raigne brought forth,  
 Being of a mind as forward to aspire  
 As fit to gouerne what he did desire.

16

His comely body was a goodly seate  
 Where vertue dwelt most faire as lodgd most pure,  
 A bodie strong where vse of strength did get  
 A stronger state to do, and to endure:  
 Making his life th' example to beget  
 Like spirit in those he did to good in vre,  
 Most glorying to aduaunce true vertuous bloud,  
 As if he greatnes sought but to do good.

Who

17

Who as the chiefe, and all-directing head,  
 Did with his subiects as his members hue,  
 And them to goodnes forced not, but lead  
 Winning not much to haue, but much to giue:  
 Deeming the powre of his, his powre did spread  
 As borne to blesse the world & not to grieue:  
 Adorn'd with others spoiles not subiects store,  
 No king exacting lesse, none winning more.

18

He after that corrupted faith had bred  
 An ill inur'd obediencé for commaund,  
 And languishing luxurioufnes had spred  
 Feeble vnaptnes ouer all the land,  
 Yet he those long vnordred troupes so led  
 Vnder such formall discipline to stand,  
 That euen his soule seemd only to direct  
 So great a bodie such exploitst' effect.

19

He bringes abroad distracted discontent,  
 Disperst ill humors into actions hie,  
 And to vnite them all in one consent  
 Plac'd the faire marke of glorie in their eye,  
 That malice had no leasure to dissent,  
 Nor enuie time to practise treachery,  
 The present actions do diuert the thought  
 Of madnes past, while mindes were so well wrought.

T 3

Here

Here now were pride, oppression, vsury,  
 The canker-eating mischeifes of the state,  
 Cal'd forth to praie vppon the enemy,  
 Whilst the home-burthned better lightned fate:  
 Ease was not suffered with a gredie eye  
 T' examine states or priuate wealthes to rate,  
 The silent Courtes warr'd not with busie wordes,  
 Nor wrested law gaue the contentious swordes.

Now nothing entertaines th'attentiue eare  
 But stratagemes, assaults, surprises, fights;  
 How to giue lawes to them that conquered were,  
 How to articulate with yeelding wights:  
 The weake with mercie, and the proud with feare,  
 How to retaine; to giue desarts their right,  
 Were now the Arts, and nothing else was thought  
 But how to win and maintaine what was gote:

Here ô were none that priuately possess  
 And held alone imprisoned maiestic,  
 Proudly debarring entraunce from the rest  
 As if the praie were theirs by victorie:  
 Here no detractor woundes whom merits best,  
 Nor shameles brow cheeres on impietie,  
 Vertue who all her toyle with zeale had spent  
 Not here all vnrewarded, fighting went.

23.

But here the equally respecting eye  
 Of powre, looking alike on like desarts,  
 Blessing the good made others good thereby;  
 More mightie by the multitude of harts:  
 The field of glorie vnto all doth lie  
 Open alike, honor to all imparts;  
 So that the only fashion in request  
 Was to bee good or good-like, as the rest.

24

So much ô thou example dost effect  
 Being far a better maister then commaund,  
 That how to do by doing dost direct  
 And teachest others, action by thy hand.  
 Who followes not the course that kings elect?  
 When Princes worke, who then will idle stand?  
 And when that dooing good is onely thought  
 Worthy reward, who will be bad for nought?

25

And had not th' earle of *Cäbridge* with vaine speed  
 Vntimely practizd for anothers right,  
 With hope t' aduance those of his proper feed,  
 (On whom yet rule seem'd destined to light)  
 The land had seene none of her owne to bleed  
 During this raigne, nor no aggriued sight:  
 None the least blacknes interclouded had  
 So faire a day, nor any eye lookt sad.

But

But now when *Fraunce* perceiuing from a far  
 The gathering tempest growing on from hence  
 Readie to fall, threatening their state to marre,  
 They labor all meanes to prouide defence,  
 And practising how to preuent this warre,  
 And shut out such calamities from thence,  
 Do foster here some discord lately growne  
 To hold Ambition busied with her owne.

Finding those humors which they saw were fit  
 Soone to be wrought and easie to be fed,  
 Swolne full with enuie that the crowne should sit  
 There where it did, as if established:  
 And whom it toucht in bloud to grieue at it  
 They with such hopes and helps sollicited,  
 That this great Earle was drawne r'attempt the thing  
 And practises how to depose the king.

For being of mightie meanes to do the deed  
 And yet of mightier hopes then meanes to do,  
 And yet of spirit that did his hopes exceed,  
 And then of bloud as great to ad thereto:  
 All which, with what the gold of *Fraunce* could breed  
 Being powers inough a climbing mind to woo,  
 He so imploid, that many he had wonne  
 Euen of the chiefe the king relide vppon.

29

The wel-known right of the Earle of *March* alurd  
 A leaning loue, whose cause he did pretend;  
 Whereby he knew that so himselfe procurd  
 The Crowne for his owne children in the end:  
 For the Earle being (as he was assur'd)  
 Vnapt for issue, it must needs descend  
 On those of his being next of *Clarence* race,  
 As who by course of right should hold the place.

30

It was the time when as the forward Prince  
 Had all prepar'd for his great enterprize,  
 And readie stand his troupes to part from hence  
 And all in stately forme and orderlyes  
 When open fame giues out intelligences  
 Of these bad complots of his enemies:  
 Or else this time of purpose chosen is  
 Though knowne before, yet let run on till this.

31

That this might yeeld the more to aggrauate  
 Vpon so foule a deed so vilely sought,  
 Now at this time t'attempt to ruinate  
 So glorious great disseignes so forward brought:  
 Whilst carefull ventur' seekes t'aduance the state  
 And for her euerlasting honor fought  
 That though the cause were right, and title strong  
 The time of dooing it, yet makes it wrong.

V

And

At  
 South-  
 hamton  
 the  
 15<sup>th</sup>  
 of  
 the  
 15<sup>th</sup>  
 of  
 the  
 15<sup>th</sup>

32

And straight an vnlamented death he had,  
 And straight were ioyfully the Anchors weighd  
 And all flocke fast aboard, with visage glad,  
 As if the sacrificize had now beene payd  
 For their good speed; that made their stay so sad  
 Loting the least occasion that delayd. (windes  
 And now new thoughts, great hopes, calme seas, fair  
 Whith present action intertaines their mindes.

33

*Richard  
 Duke of  
 Torke.*

No other crosse ô *Henry* saw thy daies  
 But this that toucht thy now possessed hold;  
 Nor after long, till this mans sonne assaies  
 To get of thine the right that he controwld:  
 For which contending long, his life he paies;  
 So that it fatall seemd the father should  
 Thy winning seeke to staie, and then his sonne  
 Should be the cause to loose, when thou hadst won.

34

Yet now in this so happie a meane while  
 And interlightning times thy vertues wrought,  
 That discord had no leasure to defile  
 So faire attempts with a tumultuous thought:  
 And euen thy selfe, thy selfe didst so beguile  
 With such attention vppon what was sought;  
 That time affoordes not now with care or hate  
 Others to seeke, thee to secure thy state.

Else



35

Else ô how easie had it beene for thee  
 All the pretendant race t'haue laid full lów  
 If thou proceeded hadst with crueltie,  
 Not suffering anie fatall branch to grow:  
 But vnspicious magnanimitie  
 Shames such effects of feare, and force to show:  
 Busied in free, and open Actions still  
 Being great; for being good, hates to be ill.

36

Which ô how much it were to be requir'd  
 In all of might, if all were like of mind;  
 But when that all deprauid haue conspir'd  
 To be vniust, what fastie shall they find  
 (After the date of vertue is expir'd)  
 That do not practize in the selfe-same kind,  
 And countermine against deceite with guile?  
 But ô what mischiefee feeles the world the while?

37

And yet such wronges are held meete to be don,  
 And oftén for the state thought requisite,  
 As when the publicke good depends thereon,  
 When most iniustice is esteemd most right:  
 But ô what good with doing ill is won?  
 Who hath of bloud made such a benefite  
 As hath not fear'd more after then before,  
 And made his peace the lesse, his plague the more?

V 2.

Far

Far otherwise dealt this vndaunted king  
 That cheerished the ofspring of his foes  
 And his competitors to grace did bring,  
 And them his friendes for Armes, and honors, chose:  
 As if plaine courses were the safest thing  
 Where vpright goodnes, sure, and stedfast goes  
 Free from that subtile mask't impietie,  
 Which this depraued world calles policie.

Yet how hath fate dispos'd of all this good?  
 What haue these vertues after times availd?  
 In what steed hath hy-raised valor stood,  
 When this continuing cause of greatnes faild?  
 Then when proud-growne the irritated bloud  
 Enduring not it selfe it selfe assaild,  
 As though that *Prowesse* had but learnt to spill  
 Much bloud abroad to cut her throte with skill.

O doth th' *Eternall* in the course of things  
 So mixe the causes both of good and ill,  
 That thus the one effects of th' other brings,  
 As what seemes made to blisse, is borne to spill?  
 What from the best of vertues glorie springes  
 That which the world with miserie doth fill?  
 Is th' end of happines but wretchednesse,  
 Hath sin his plague, and vertue no successe?

Either

41

Either that is not good, the world holds good,  
 Or else is so confuld with ill, that we  
 Abused with th'appearing likelihood  
 Run to offend, whilst we thinke good to be:  
 Or else the heauens made man, in furious bloud  
 To torture man: And that no course is free  
 From mischiefe long. And that faire daies do breed  
 But storms, to make more foule, times that succeed.

42

Who would haue thought but so great victories,  
 Such conquests, riches, land, and kingdome gaind,  
 Could not but haue establish't in such wise  
 This powreful state, in state to haue remaind?  
 Who would haue thought that mischief could deuise  
 A way so soone to loose what was attaind?  
 As greatnes were but shewd to grieue not grace,  
 And to reduce vs into far worse case.

43

With what contagion *France* didst thou infect  
 The land by thee made proud, to disagree?  
 T'irrage them so their owne swords to direct  
 Vpon themselues that were made sharpe in thee?  
 Why didst thou teach them here at home t'ereat  
*Trophees* of their bloud which of thine should be?  
 Or was the date of thy affliction out,  
 And so was ours by course to come about?

44

But that vntimely death of this Great King,  
 Whose nine yeares raign so mighty wōders wrought  
 To thee thy hopes, to vs despaire did bring  
 Not long to keepe, and gouerne what was gote:  
 For those that had th'affaires in managing  
 Although their countries good they greatly sought,  
 Yet so ill accidents vnfitly fell  
 That their desseignes could hardly prosper well.

45

An infant king doth in the state succeed  
 Skarfe one yeare old, left vnto others guide,  
 Whose carefull trust, though such as shewd indeed  
 They waighd their charge more then the world be-  
 And did with dutie, zeale and loue proceed: (side;  
 Yet for all what their trauaile could prouide  
 Could not woo fortune to remaine with vs  
 When this her Minion was departed thus.

46

But by degrees first this, then that regaind  
 The turning tide beares backe with flowing chaunce  
 Vnto the Dolphin all we had attaind,  
 And sils the late low-running hopes of *Fraunce*,  
 When *Bedford* who our onely hold maintaind  
 Death takes from vs their fortune to aduance,  
 And then home strife that on it selfe did fall  
 Negle&ing forraine care, did soone loose all.

Nere

47

Nere three score years are past since *Bullinbrooke*  
 Did first attaine (God knowes how iust) the crowne:  
 And now his race for right possessors tooke  
 Were held of all, to hold nought but their owne:  
 When *Richard Duke of Yorke*, begins to looke  
 Into their right, and makes his title knowne:  
 Wakening vp sleeping-wrong that lay as dead  
 To witnes how his race was iniured.

48

His fathers end in him no feare could moue  
 T'attempt the like against the like of might,  
 Where long possession now of feare, and loue  
 Seem'd to prescribe euen an innated right,  
 So that to proue his state was to disproue  
 Time, law, consent, oth, and allegeance quight:  
 And no way but the waie of bloud there was  
 Through which with all confusion he must passe.

49

O then yet how much better had it beene  
 T'indure a wrong with peace, then with such toyle  
 T'obtaine a bloudie right; since Right is sinne  
 That is ill fought, and purchased with spoile?  
 What madnes vnconstrained to begin  
 To right his state, to put the state in broyle?  
 Iustice her selfe maie euen do wrong in this,  
 No war be'ing right but that which needfull is.

And

And yet that oportunity which led  
 Him to attempt, seemes likewise him t'excuse:  
 A feeble spirited king that gouerned  
 Vnworthy of the Scepter he did vse;  
 His enemies that his worth maliced,  
 Who both the land and him did much abuse,  
 The peoples loue, and his apparant right,  
 May seeme sufficient motiues to incite.

## § I

Besides the now ripe wrath (deferd till now,)  
 Of that sure and vnfailling *Iusticer*,  
 That neuer suffers wrong so long to grow  
 And to incorporate with right so farre;  
 That it might come to seeme the same in show,  
 T'incourage those that euill minded are  
 By such successe; but that at last he will  
 Confound the branch whose root was planted ill.

## 52

Else might the ympious say with grudging spright,  
 Doth God permit the great to riot free,  
 And blesse the mighty though they doe vnright,  
 As if he did vnto their wrongs agree?  
 And only plague the weake and wretched wights  
 For smallest faults euen in the highest degree?  
 When he but vsing them others to scourge,  
 Likewise of them at length the world doth purge.

But

53

But could not ô for bloudshed satisfie  
 The now well-ruling of th' ill-gotten crowne?  
 Must euen the good receiue the penaltie  
 Of former sinnes that neuer were their owne?  
 And must a iust kings bloud with miserie  
 Pay for a bad vniustly ouerthrowne?  
 Then ô I see due course must rightly goe  
 And th' earth must trace it or else purchase woe.

54

And sure this king that now the crowne possesse  
*Henry* the sixt was one, whose life was free  
 From that commaund of vice, whereto the rest  
 Of many mighty soueraignes subiectes be:  
 And numbred might haue beene among the best  
 Of other men, if not of that degree:  
 A right good man, but yet an euill king  
 Vnfit for what he had in managing.

55

Mild, meeke of spirit, by nature patient:  
 No thought t' increase or scarce to keepe his owne:  
 Apter for pardoning then for punishment,  
 Seeking his bounty, not his powre t' haue knowne;  
 Far from reuenge, soone won, soone made content:  
 As fitter for a cloyster then a crowne:  
 Whose holy minde so much addicted is  
 On th' world to come, that he neglecteth this.

X

With

With such a weake, good, feeble, godly king  
 Hath *Richard Duke of Yorke* his cause to trie:  
 Who by th'experience of long managing  
 The warres of *Fraunce* with supream dignitie;  
 And by his owne great worth with furthering  
 The common good against the enemye,  
 Had wrought that zeale and loue attend his might  
 And made his spirit equall vnto his right.

For now the *Duke of Bed'ord* beeing dead,  
 He is ordaind the Regent to succeed  
 In *Fraunce* for five yeares, where he trauailed  
 Whith ready hand and with as carefull heed  
 To seeke to turne backe fortune that now fled,  
 And hold vp falling power, in time of need:  
 And gote, and lost and reattaines againe  
 That which againe was lost for all his paine.

His time expird, he should for five yeares more  
 Haue had his charge prolong'd, but *Sommer set*  
 That still had enuide his commaund before,  
 That place and honor for himselfe did get:  
 Which ads that matter to th'alreadie store  
 Of kindled hate, which such a fire doth set  
 Vnto the touch of that confounding flame (same.  
 As both their blouds could neuer quench the

And

*The Duke  
 of Somer-  
 set is a great  
 enemy to  
 the Duke  
 of Yorke &  
 had enue  
 enuid his  
 preferment.*



59

And now the weaknes of that feeble head  
 That doth neglect all care, but his soules care,  
 So easie meanes of practise ministred  
 Vnto th'ambitious members to prepare  
 Their owne desires, to what their humors lead;  
 That all good A&ions coldly followed are,  
 And seurall-tending hopes do wholly bend  
 To other now then to the publique end.

60

And to draw on more speedy misery,  
 The king vnto a fatall match is led  
 With *Rayners* daughter king of *Sicilie*,  
 Whom with vn lucky starres he married:  
 For by the meanes of this affinitie  
 Was lost all that his Father conquered,  
 Euen as if *Fraunce* had some *Erynnis* sent  
 T'auenge their wrongs done by the insolent.

*This Raigner was Duke of Anjou & only inioind the title of the K. of Sicilia.*

61

This marriage was the *Duke of Suffolks* deed  
 With great rewardes won to effect the same:  
 Which made him that he tooke so little heed  
 Vnto his countries good, or his owne shame:  
 Being a match could stand vs in no steed  
 For strength, for wealth, for reputation, fame:  
 But cunningly contriued for their gaine  
 To cost vs more then *Aniou*, *Mauns*, and *Maine*.

*Which were deliuered up to her father upon the match.*

X 2.

And

And yet as if he had accomplished  
 Some mighty benefit vnto the land;  
 He got his trauailes to be registred  
 In Parliment, for euermore to stand  
 A witnes to approue all what he did:  
 To th' end that if hereafter it were scand,  
 Autoritie might yet be on his side,  
 As doing nought but what was ratifide.

Imagining th' allowance of that place (naught,  
 Would make that good the which he knew was  
 And so would his negotiation grace  
 As none would thinke it was his priuat fault:  
 Wherein though wit dealt wary in this case,  
 Yet in the end it selfe it ouer raught,  
 Striuing to hide he opened it the more,  
 His after care shewd craft had gone before.

Deare didst thou buy ô king so faire a wife,  
 So rare a spirit, so high a minde the while:  
 Whose portion was destruction, dowry strife,  
 Whose bed was sorrow, whose imbracing spoile:  
 Whose maintenance cost thee, and thine their life,  
 And whose best comfort neuer was but toyle:  
 What *Paris* brought this booty of desire,  
 To set our mighty *Jlium* here on fire?

65

I grieue that I am forst to say this much,  
 To blame her, that I yet must wonder at;  
 Whose so sweet beauty, wit and worth were such,  
 As euerlasting admiration gat:  
 Yet doth my countries zeale so nerely touch  
 That I am drawne to say I know not what,  
 And yet, ô that my pen should euer giue  
 Staine to that sex by whom her fame doth liue.

66

For sure those vertues well deserud a crowne,  
 And had it not beene ours, no doubt she might  
 haue matcht the worthiest that the world hath known  
 And now fate faire with fame, with glorie bright:  
 But coming in the way where sin was grown  
 So foule and thicke, it was her chance to light  
 Amidst that grosse infection of those times,  
 And so came staine with blacke disgracefull crimes!

67

And some the world must haue on whom to lay  
 The heauie burthen of reproach, and blame,  
 Against whose deedes th' afflicted may inuay  
 As th' only Authors, whence destruction came:  
 When yet perhaps twas not in them to stay  
 The current of that stream, nor helpe the same;  
 But liuing in the cie of Action so  
 Not hindring it, are thought to draw on wo.

X 3

So

So much vnhappie doth the mightie stand  
 That stand on other then their owne defence,  
 When as distruction is so neare at hand,  
 That if by weakenes, folly, negligence,  
 They do not comming miserie withstand  
 They shall be thought th'authors of the offence,  
 And to call in that which they kept not out, (bout.  
 And curst as those, that brought those plagues a-

And so remaine for euer registred  
 In that eternall booke of infamic:  
 When ô how many other causes lead  
 As well to that, as their iniquitie:  
 The worst complots oftly close smothered,  
 And well ment deedes fall out vnluckily:  
 Whilst the aggriued stand not t'waigh th'intent  
 But euer iudge according to th'euent.

If say not this t'excuse thy Sinne ô *Queene*,  
 Nor cleare their faults that mightie Actors are:  
 I cannot but affirme thy pride hath beene  
 A speciall meanes this commonwealth to marre:  
 And that thy wayward will was plainly scene  
 In vaine ambition to presume too farre,  
 And that by thee the onely way was wrought  
 The *Duke of Gloster* to his death was brought!

*Hinfrey  
 Duke of  
 Gloster.*

71

A man though seeming in thy thought to fit  
 Betweene the light of thy desires and thee,  
 Yet did his taking thence plainly permit  
 Others to looke to that they could not see  
 During his life, nor would aduenture it:  
 When his remoue quite made that passage free;  
 So by his fall thinking to stand alone  
 Hardly could stand at all when he was gone.

72

For this *Duke* as *Protector* many yeares  
 Had rul'd the land, during the kings young age:  
 And now the selfe same charge and title beares  
 As if he still were in his pupillage:  
 With such disgrace vnto the *Queene* appears  
 That all incens'd with an ambitious rage  
 She doth conspire to haue him made awaie,  
 As who the course of her maine will doth staie.

73

Thrust thereinto not onely with her pride  
 But by her fathers counsell and consent,  
 That grieu'd likewise that any else beside  
 Should haue the honor of the gouernment:  
 And therefore he such deepe aduise applide  
 As forraine craft and cunning could inuent,  
 To circumuent an vnsuspecting wight  
 Before he should discern of their despight.

And

74

And manie ready hands shee straight doth find  
 To aide her deede, of such as could not brooke  
 The length of one mans office in that kind  
 That to himselfe th' affaires all wholly tooke:  
 And ruling all had neuer any minde  
 T' impart a part with others that would looke  
 To haue likewise some honor in their hands,  
 And grieu'd at such ingrossing of commaunds.

75

And had he not had such a greedy loue  
 Of still continuing of his charge too long,  
 Enuie had beene vnable to reprove  
 His acted life without shee did him wrong:  
 But hauing liu'd so manie yceres aboute,  
 He grieues now to descend to be lesse strong,  
 And kils that fame that vertue did beget,  
 Chose to be held lesse good, then seene lesse great.

76

O could the mighty but giue bounds to pride  
 And weigh backe fortune ere shee pull them downe,  
 Contented with inough, with honors satiffide,  
 Not striuing how to make so much their owne  
 As to leaue nothing for the rest beside,  
 Who seeme by their high spreading ouergrowne:  
 Whilst they themselves remaine in all mens sight  
 The odious marke of hatred and dispight.

Then

77

Then should not ō so many trágedies  
 Burthen our knowledge with their bloody end,  
 Nor their disgrac'd confounded families  
 From so hye pride to so low shame descend:  
 Eut planted on that ground where safety lies,  
 Their branches should to eternity extend:  
 But euer those that ouerlookē so much  
 Must ouersee themselues; their state is such.

78

Seuere he was, and strictly did obserue  
 Due forme of Iustice towardes eüery wight,  
 Vnmoueable, and neuer won to swerue  
 For any cause in what he thought was right:  
 Wherein although he did so well deserue,  
 In the licentious yet it bred despight;  
 So that euen vertue seemes an Actor too  
 To ruine those fortune prepares to vndoo.

79

Those, thus prouided whom the *Queene* wel knew  
 Hated his might, and glad to innouate  
 Vnto so great, and strong a party grew  
 As easie t'was to ouerthrow his state:  
 And onely hope of alteration drew  
 Manie to yeeld that had no cause to hate:  
 For euen with goodnes men grow discontent  
 Where states are ripe to fall, and vertue spent.

Y

And

And taking all the rule into her hand  
 (Vnder the shadowe of that feeble king)  
 The *Duke* sh' excludes from office and command,  
 And in the reach of enmity doth bring  
 From that respected height where he did stand,  
 Whilst malice scarce durst mutter any thing:  
 When straight the worst of him comes all reueald  
 Which former feare, or rigor kept conceald.

Now is he taxed that he rather sought  
 His priuate profit then the publique good,  
 And many things presumptuously had wrought  
 Other then with our lawes, and customes stood:  
 As one that would into the land haue brought,  
 The ciuile forme in cases touching bloud, (sound,  
 And such poore crimes that shewd their spight was  
 But yet bewraide, their matter wanted ground.

Yet seru'd they well the turne, and did effect  
 That which is easie wrought in such a case,  
 Where what suborned *Iustice* shall object  
 Is to the purpose, and must passe with grace:  
 And what the wretched bring of no effect  
 Whose hainous faults his matter must deface:  
 For where powre hath decreed to find th' offence  
 The cause is better still then the defence.



83

A *Parlament* at Berry summoned  
 Dispatcht the deed more speedily then well,  
 For thither came the *Duke* without all dread  
 Or ought imagining of what befell:  
 Where as the matter is so followed  
 That he conuented is ere he could tell  
 He was in danger or had done offence,  
 And presently to prison sent from thence.

84

Which quicke, and sodaine action gaue no time  
 For men to weigh the iustice of the deed,  
 Whilst looking only on the vrged crime  
 Vnto the farther drift they take no heed:  
 For these occasions taken in the prime  
 Of courses new, that old dislikes succeed,  
 Leaue not behind that feeling touch of wrong,  
 Sacietie makes passions still lesse strong.

85

And yet they seem'd some mutiny to doubt  
 For thus proceeding with a man of might,  
 Seeing he was most popular and stout  
 And resolute would stand vpon his right:  
 And therefore did they cast this way about  
 To haue him closely murdred out of sight,  
 That so his trouble, and his death hereby  
 Might come together and together dye.

Y 2

Reckning

Reckning it better since his end is ment  
 And must be wrought, at once to rid it cleere  
 And put it to the fortune of th'euent,  
 Then by long doing to be long in feare:  
 When in such courses of high punishment  
 The deed and the attempt like daunger beare;  
 And oft things done perhaps doe lesse anoy  
 Then may the doing handled with delay.

And so they had it straight accomplished,  
 For that day after his committing he  
 Is dead brought forth being found so in his bed,  
 Which was by sodaine sicknes said to bee  
 That had vpon his sorrowes gathered,  
 As by apparant tokens men might see:  
 And thus ô *Sicknes* thou art oft belide,  
 When death hath many waies to come beside.

Are these the deedes hye forraine wits inuent?  
 Is this that wisdome whereof they so boast?  
 O then I would it neuer had beene spent  
 Here amongst vs, nor brought from out their coast!  
 O let their cunning in their limits pent  
 Remaine amongst themselues that like it most!  
 And let the *North* they count of colder bloud  
 Beheld more grosse, so it remaine more good.

89

Let them haue fairer citties, goodlier soiles,  
 And sweeter fields for beautie to the eie,  
 So long as they haue these vngodly wiles,  
 Such detestable vile impietie:  
 And let vs want their vines, their fruites the whiles,  
 So that we want not faith and honestie,  
 We care not for those pleasures, so we may  
 Haue better harts, and stronger hands then they.

90

*Neptune* keepe out from thy imbraced Ile  
 This foule contagion of iniquitie;  
 Drowne all corruptions comming to defile  
 Our faire proceedings ordred formally;  
 Keepe vs mere *English*, let not craft beguile  
 Honor and Iustice with strang subtiltie:  
 Let vs not thinke, that that our good can frame,  
 Which ruinde hath the Authors of the same.

91

But by this impious meanes that worthy man  
 Is brought vnto this lamentable end,  
 And now that current with maine fury ran  
 (The stop remou'd that did the course defend)  
 Vnto the full of mischiefe that began  
 T'a vniuerfall ruine to extend,  
 That *Isthmus* failing which the land did keepe  
 From the intire possession of the deepe.

Y 3

And

And now the king alone all open lay,  
 No vnderprop of bloud to stay him by,  
 None but himselfe standes weakely in the way  
 Twixt *Yorke* and the affected sou'raignty:  
 Gone is that barre that would haue beene the stay  
 T' haue kept him backe from mounting vp so hie.  
 But ô in what a state stand these men in  
 That cannot liue without, nor with their kin?

The *Queene* hath yet by this her full desire  
 And now she with her minion *Suffolke* raignes,  
 Now shee hath all authority intire,  
 And all affaires vnto her selfe retaines:  
 And only *Suffolke* is aduanced hyre,  
 He is the man rewarded for his paines:  
 He that did her insteed most chiefly stand,  
 And more aduanc'd her, then he did the land.

Which when they saw who better did expect,  
 Then they beganne their error to descry,  
 And well perceiue that only the defect  
 Was in their iudgements, passion-drawne awry:  
 Found, formall rigour fitter to direct  
 Then pride and insolent inconstancie;  
 Better seuerity that's right and iust  
 Then impotent affection led with lust.

95

And thereupon in sorrow thus complaine:  
 O what great inconuenience do they feele,  
 Where as such imbecility doth raigne  
 As so neglectes the care of common weale?  
 Where euer one or other doth obtaine  
 So high a grace thus absolute to deale:  
 The whilst th'aggriued subiect suffers still  
 The pride of some predominating will.

96

And euer one remou'd, a worse succedes;  
 So that the best that we can hope is warre,  
 Tumults and stirres, that this disliking breedes,  
 The sword must mend, what insolence doth marre:  
 For what rebellions, and what bloody deedes  
 Haue euer followed where such courses are?  
 What oft remoues, what death of counsailers,  
 What murder, what exile of officers?

97

Witness the *Spencers, Gaueslon and Vere*  
 The mighty minions of our feeblest kings;  
 Who euer subiects to their subiects were,  
 And only the procurers of these things:  
 When worthy *Monarches* that hold honor deare  
 Maister themselues, and theirs; which euer brings  
 That vniuersall reuerence, and respect:  
 For who waighes him that doth himselfe neglect?

And

And yet our case is like to be farre worse  
 Hauing a king though not so bent to ill,  
 Yet so neglecting good, that giuing force  
 By giuing leaue doth all good order kill:  
 Suffring a violent woman take her course  
 To manage all according to her will,  
 Which how she doth begin, her deeds expresse,  
 And what will be the end, our selues may gesse.

Thus well they deem'd what after followed  
 When now the shamefull losse of *Fraunce* much  
 Which vnto *Suffolke* is attributed (griues,  
 As who in all mens sight most hatefull liues:  
 He with the enemy confedered  
 Betraies the state, and secret knowledge giues  
 Of all our strength; that all which we did hold  
 By his corruption is or lost or sold.

Articles  
 objected  
 against de  
 la Poole  
 Duke of  
 Suffolke.

And as he deales abroad, so likewise here  
 He robs at home, the treasurie no lesse  
 Here, where he all authorities doth beare  
 And makes a *Monopoly* of offices:  
 He is inricht, h'is raisd, and placed neere  
 And only he giues counsaile to oppresse:  
 Thus men obiekt, whilst many vp in armes  
 Offer to be reuenged of these harmes.

## 101

The *Queene* perceiuing in what case shee stood,  
 To loose her minion or ingage her state;  
 (After with long contention in her bloud  
 Loue and ambition did the cause debate)  
 Shee yeeldes to pride, and rather thought it good  
 To sacrifice her loue vnto their hate,  
 Then to aduenture else the losse of all  
 Which by maintaining him was like to fall.

## 102

Yet seeking at the first to temporize,  
 She tries if that some short imprisonment  
 would calme their heat; when that would not suffize,  
 Then to exile him shee must needs consent:  
 Hoping that time would salue it in such wise  
 As yet at length they might become content,  
 And shee againe might haue him home at last,  
 When the first fury of this rage was past.

## 103

But as he to his iudged exile went,  
 Hard on the shore he comes incountered  
 By some, that so far off his honor sent,  
 As put his backe-returne quite out of dread:  
 For there he had his rightfull punishment  
 Though wrongly done, and there he lost his head,  
 Part of his bloud hath *Neptune*, part the sand,  
 As who had mischief wrought by sea and land.

Z

Whose

104

Whose death when swift-wingd' fame at full con-  
 Vnto the trauaild *Queen* misdoubting nought, (uaid  
 Despight and sorrow such affliction laid  
 Vpon her soule as wondrous passions wrought:  
 O God (saith she) and art thou thus betraid?  
 And haue my fauours thy destruction brought?  
 Is this their gaine whom highnes fauoureth,  
 Who chiefe preferd, stand as preferd to death?

105

O fatall grace without which men complaine  
 And with it perish, what preuailes that we  
 Thus beare the title of a soueraigne,  
 And suffred not to be that which we be?  
 O must our subiects limit and constraime  
 Our fauours where as they themselues decree?  
 Must we our loue at their appointment place?  
 Do we commaund, and they direct our grace?

106

O will they then our powre, and will deuide?  
 And haue we might, but must not vse our might?  
 Poore maiestic that other men must guide  
 Whose discontent can neuer looke aright:  
 For euermore we see those that abide  
 Gracious in ours, are odious in their sight,  
 Who would all-maistring maiesty defeat  
 Of her best grace, that is to make men great.

Deere



107

Deere *Suffolke*, ô I saw thy wofull cheere  
 When thou perceiu'dst no helpè but to depart:  
 I saw that looke wherein did plaine appeare  
 The lamentable message of thy heart:  
 That seemd to say: O *Queene*, and canst thou beare  
 My ruine so? the cause whereof thou art:  
 Canst thou indure to see them worke their will  
 And not defend me from the hand of ill?

108

Haue I for thee aduentured so much,  
 Made shipwracke of my honor, faith and fame?  
 And doth my seruice giue no deeper touch  
 To thy hard heart better to feele the same?  
 Or dost thou feare, or is thy weakenes such  
 As not of force to keepe me from this shame?  
 Or else now hauing seru'd thy turne of me,  
 Art well-content my ouerthrow to see?

109

As if my sight did read vnto thy minde  
 The lecture of that shame thou wouldst forget,  
 And therefore peradventure glad to finde  
 So fit occasion dost it forward set:  
 Or else thy selfe from dangerous toile t' vnwinde  
 Downe on my necke dost all the burthen let;  
 Since kings must haue some hated worse then they,  
 On whom they may the waight of enuy lay.

Z. 2

No

No *Suffolke*, none of this, my soule is cleere;  
 Without the thought of such impiety:  
 Yet must I needs confesse that too much feare  
 Made me defend thee lesse couragiously:  
 Seeing more Princes euer ruind were  
 By their immoderate fauoring priuately  
 Then by feueritie in generall,  
 For best h' is lik't, that is alike to all.

## III

Thus in her passion lo shee vttered,  
 When as far greater tumults now burst out,  
 Which close and cunningly were practised  
 By such as sought great hopes to bring about  
 For vp in armes in *Kent* were gathered  
 A mighty insolent rebellious rout  
 Vnder a dangerous head; who to deter  
 The state the more, himselfe nam'd *Mortimer*.

## II2

The *Duke of Yorke* that did not idle stand  
 But seekes to worke on all aduantages,  
 Had likewise in this course a secret hand,  
 And hartned on their chiefe accomplices,  
 To try how that the people of the land  
 Would (if occasion seru'd) b' in readines  
 To aide that line if one should come indeed  
 To moue his right, and in due course proceed.

Know

113

Knowing himselfe to be the onely one  
 That must attempt the thing if any should,  
 And therefore lets the Rebel now runne on  
 With that false name t' effect the best he could  
 To make a way for him to worke vpon,  
 That but on certaine ground aduenture would:  
 For if the traitor sped, the gaine were his;  
 If not, yet he standes safe, and blameles is.

114

T' attempt with others dangers, not his owne,  
 He countes it wisdome if it could be wrought:  
 And t' haue the honor of the people knowne  
 Was now that which was chiefly to be sought:  
 For with the best he knew himselfe was growne  
 In that account, as made him take no thought,  
 Hauing obseru'd in those he ment to proue  
 Their wit, their wealth, their cariage, and their loue.

115

With whom and with his owne alliances  
 He first begins to open in some wise  
 The right he had, yet with such doubtfulnes,  
 As rather sorrow then his drift descries:  
 Complaining of his countries wretchednes  
 In what a miserable case it lies,  
 And how much it importes them to prouide  
 For their defence against this womans pride.

Z 3

Then

Then with the discontented he doth deale,  
 In founding theirs, not vttering his intent,  
 As being sure not so much to reueale,  
 Whereby they might be made againe content:  
 But when they grieued for the common weale,  
 He doth perswade them to be patient,  
 And to indure there was no other course,  
 Yet so perswadés as makes their malice worse.

And then with such as with the time did run,  
 He doth in most vpright opinion stand,  
 As one that neuer crost what they begun,  
 But seem'd to like what stil they tooke in hand:  
 Seeking all causes of offence to shun,  
 Praises the rule, and blames th' vnrule land:  
 Workes so with giftes, and kindlie offices,  
 That euen of them he serues his turne no lesse.

Then as for those that were his followers,  
 Being all choicemen for vertues or defarts,  
 He so with grace, and benefits prefers,  
 That he becomés the monarch of their harts:  
 He drawes the learned for his Counsaillers,  
 And cherishes all men of rarest partes,  
 To whom good done doth an impression strike  
 Of ioie and loue in all that are alike.

And

## 119

And now by meanes of th' intermitted warre  
 Manie most valiant men impou'rish'd,  
 Onely by him fed and relieued are,  
 Onely respected, grac'd and honoured:  
 Which let him in, vnto their hearts so farre,  
 As they by him were wholly to be led:  
 He onely treads the sure and perfect path  
 To greatnes who loue and opinion hath.

## 120

And to haue one some certaine prouince his  
 As the maine body that must worke the feate,  
*Torkeshire* he chose, the place wherein he is  
 By title, liuings, and possessions great:  
 No country he preferres so much as this,  
 Here hath his bountie her abiding seat,  
 Here is his Iustice and relieuing hand  
 Ready to all that in destresse do stand.

## 121

What with his tenants, seruants, followers, friends,  
 And their alliances, and amities,  
 All that *Shire* vnjuersally attendes  
 His hand held vp to any enterprize:  
 And thus farre vertue with her power extends,  
 The rest touching th' euent in fortune lies.  
 With which accomplement so mighty growne  
 Forward he tendes with hope t' attaine a crowne.

*The end of the fourth booke.*

100

And when the sun is low  
And the shadows long and slow  
And the birds are all at rest  
And the world is all asleep

Only the stars are left to shine  
And the moon is all alone  
And the night is all around  
And the world is all at one

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110

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The fift Booke of the Ciuill warres  
betweene the two Houses of Lancaster  
and Yorke.

SO THE ARGUMENT.

*The bad successe of Cades rebellion,  
Yorks open practise and conspiracie,  
His comming in, and his submission,  
The effect of Printing and Artillerie,  
Burdeux reuolts, craves our protection,  
Talbot defending ours, dyes gloriously.  
The French wars end, & York begins againe,  
And at S. Albones Sommer set is slaine.*

**T**HE furious trayne of that tumultuous rout,  
Whom close subayding powre & good successe,  
Had made vnwisely proud, and fondly stout,  
Thrust headlong on, oppresion to oppresse:  
And now to fulnes growne, boldly giue out  
That they the publique wrongs meant to redresse;  
Formlesse themselues, reforming doe pretend,  
As if confusion could disorder mend.

A a.

And

Iack  
Gade.

And on they march with theyr false-named head,  
 Of base, and vulgar birth, though noble fayn'd,  
 Who puffed with vaine desires, to London led  
 His rash abused troupes, with shadowes trayn'd.  
 When as the King thereof ascertained,  
 Supposing some small power would haue restrain'd  
 Disordred rage, sends with a simple crew  
 Syr *Humfry Stafford*, whom they ouerthrew.

Which so increas'd th'opinion of theyr might,  
 That much it gaue to doe, and much it wrought,  
 Confirm'd their rage, drew on the vulgar wight,  
 Calld forth the timorous, fresh pertakers brought;  
 For many, though most glad theyr wrongs to right,  
 Yet durst not venture theyr estates for nought:  
 But see'ing the cause had such aduantage got,  
 Occasion makes them styre, that els would not.

4

So much he errs, that scornes or els neglects  
 The small beginnings of arysing broyles,  
 And censures others, not his owne defects,  
 And with a selfe conceite himselfe beguiles:  
 Thinking small force will compasse great effects,  
 And spares at first to buy more costly toyles:  
 When true obseruing prouidence in war  
 Still makes her foes, far stronger then they are.

Yet



5

Yet thys good fortune all theyr fortune mard  
 Which fooles by helping euer doth suppress:  
 For warelesse insolence whilst vndebar'd  
 Of bounding awe, runnes on to such excesse,  
 That following lust, and spoyle, and blood so hard,  
 Sees not how they procure theyr owne distresse:  
 The better, lothing courses so impure,  
 Rather will like theyr wounds, then such a cure.

6

For whilst thys wilde vnrained multitude  
 (Led with an vnfore-seeing greedy minde  
 Of an imagin'd good, that did delude  
 Their ignorance, in theyr desires made blind,)  
 Ran sack the Citty, and with hands imbrude,  
 Run to all out-rage in th'extreamest kind,  
 Heaping yp wrath and horror more and more,  
 Adding fresh guilt, to mischiefes done before.

7

And seeing yet all thys draw to no end  
 But to theyr owne, no promis'd ayde t'appeare,  
 No such pertakers as they dyd attend,  
 Nor such succesles as imagin'd were:  
 Good men resolu'd the present to defend  
 Iustice against them with a brow seuer.  
 Themselues feard of themselues, tyr'd with excesse,  
 Found, mischiefe was no fit way to redresse.

Like when a greedy Pyrat hard in chace  
 Pursuing of a rich supposed prize,  
 Works for the winds, plyes sayles, beares vp a pace,  
 Out-runnes the clowdes, scoures after her that flies,  
 Pryde in his hart, and wealth before his face,  
 Keepes his hands wrought, & fixed keepes his eyes,  
 So long, till that ingag'd within some straight  
 He falls amid his foes layd close in wayt:

90

Where all too late discovering round about  
 Danger and death the purchase of his hast;  
 And no back flying, no way to get out,  
 But there to perriish, or to yeeld disgraft,  
 Cursing his error, yet in th'error stout:  
 Hee toyles for life, now charges, now is chafte:  
 Then quailes, and then fresh courage takes againe,  
 Striuing t'vnwind himselfe, but all in vaine.

100

So stands thys rout in desperat comberment,  
 Enuiron'd round with horror, blood, and shame:  
 Crost of theyr course, dispayring of th'euent  
 When pardon, that smooth bayt of basenes came:  
 Pardon, (the snare to catch the impotent) (same,  
 Beeing once pronounc'd, they straight embrace the  
 And as huge snowy Mountaines melt with heat,  
 So they dissolu'd with hope, and home they get.

Leauing

I I

Leauing their Captaine to discharge alone  
 The shott of blood consumed in theyr heat:  
 Too small a sacrifice for mischiefes done  
 Was one mans breath, which thousands dyd defeat.  
 Vnrightheous Death, why art thou but all one  
 Vnto the small offender and the great?  
 Why art thou not more then thou art, to those  
 That thousands spoyle, and thousands liues doe lose:

I 2

Thys fury passing with so quick an end,  
 Disclofd not those, that on th'aduantage lay,  
 Who seeing the course to such disorder tend,  
 With-drew theyr foote, asham'd to take that way;  
 Or els preuented whilst they dyd attend  
 Some mightier force, or for occasion stay,  
 But what they meant, ill fortune must not tell,  
 Mischiefe be'ing oft made good by speeding well.

I 3

Put by from thys, the Duke of Yorke disignes  
 Another course to bring his hopes about:  
 And with those frends affinity combines  
 In surest bonds, his thoughts he poureth out,  
 And closely feeles, and closely vndermines  
 The fayth of whom he had both hope and doubt:  
 Meaning in more apparant open course  
 To try his right, his fortune, and his force.

Loue and aliance had most firmly ioynd  
 Vnto his part, that mighty family  
 The fayre discended stock of *Newiles* kind,  
 Great by theyr many issued progeny ;  
 But greater by theyr worth, that cleerely shind  
 And gaue faire light to theyr nobilitie :  
 A mightie partie for a mighty cause  
 By theyr vnited amitie hee drawes.

For as the spreading members of proud *Po*,  
 That thousand-branched *Po*, whose limmes embrace  
 Thy fertile and delicious body so  
 Sweet *Lombardie*, and beautifies thy face :  
 Such seemd this powreful stock ; frō whence did grow  
 So many great discents, spreading theyr race  
 That euery corner of the Land became,  
 Enrich with some great *Heroes* of that name.

But greatest in renowne doth *Warrmick* sit,  
 That great King-maker *Warrmick*, so far growne  
 In grace with Fortune, that he gouerns it,  
 And Monarchs makes, and made, againe puts downe ;  
 What reuolutions his first mouing wit  
 Heere brought about, are more then too well known ;  
 That fatall kindle-fire of those hote dayes,  
 Whose worth I may, whose worke I cannot prayse.

With

17

With him, with *Richard* Earle of *Salisbury*,  
*Courtney* and *Brooke*, his most assured friends,  
 Hee intimates his minde, and openly,  
 The present bad proceedings discommends;  
 Laments the state, the peoples misery,  
 And that which such a pittyer seldom mends,  
 Oppression, that sharpe two edged sword  
 That others wounds, and wounds likewise his Lord.

18

My Lord, sayth he, how things are carryed heere  
 In this corrupted state, you plainly see,  
 What burden our abused shoulders beare  
 Charg'd with the weight of imbecillitie;  
 And in what base account all we appeare  
 That stand without their grace that all must be:  
 And who they be, and how their course succeeds,  
 Our shame reports, and time bewrayes their deeds.

19

*Aniou* and *Maine*, (O maine that foule appeares,  
 Eternall scarre of our dismembred Land)  
 And, *Guien's* lost, that did three hundred yeeres  
 Remaine subiected vnder our commaund.  
 From whence, me thinks, there sounds vnto our eares  
 The voyce of those deere ghosts, whose liuing hand  
 Got it with sweat, and kept it with theyr blood,  
 To doe vs, thankles vs, theyr of-spring good.

And

And seeme to cry; O how can you behold  
 Their hatefull feet vpon our graues should tread?  
 Your Fathers graues, who gloriously dyd hold  
 That which your shame hath left recouered.  
 Redeeme our Tombes, O spirits too too cold,  
 Pull backe these Towres our Armes haue honored:  
 These Towres are yours, these Forts we built for you,  
 These walls doe beare our names, and are your due,

Thus well they may obrayd our rechiefnes,  
 Whilst we, as if at league with infamie,  
 Ryot away for nought, whole Prouinces;  
 Giue vp as nothing worth all *Normandy*,  
 Traffique strong holds, sell Fortresses,  
 So long, that nought is left but misery:  
 Poore *Callice*, and these water-walls about,  
 That basely pownds vs in, from breaking out.

And which is worse, I feare we shall in th'end  
 Throwne from the glory of inuading war,  
 Be forst our proper limmits to defend,  
 Where euer, men are not the same they are  
 Where hope of conquest doth theyr spyrits extend  
 Beyond the vsuall powres of valor far:  
 For more is he that ventureth for more,  
 Then who fights but for what he had before.

23

Put to your hands therefore to reskew nowe  
 Th'indangered state, dere Lords, from thys disgrace,  
 And let vs in our honor; labour how  
 To bring thys scorned Land in better case:  
 No doubt but God our action will allow  
 That knowes my right, and how they rule the place  
 Whose weakenes calls vp our vnwillingnesse,  
 As opening euen the doore to our redresse.

24

Though I protest it is not for a Crowne  
 My soule is moou'd, (yet if it be my right,  
 I haue no reason to refuse myne owne)  
 But onely these indignities to right.  
 And what if God whose iudgements are vnknowne,  
 Hath me ordaynd the man, that by my might  
 My Country shall be blest; if so it be,  
 By helping me, you rayse your selues with me.

25

In those whom zeale and amitie had bred  
 A fore-impresion of the right he had,  
 These styring words so much encouraged,  
 That with desire of innouation mad,  
 They seem'd to runne before, not to be led,  
 And to his fire doe quicker fuell ad:  
 For where such humors are prepar'd before,  
 The opening them makes them abound the more.

Bb.

Then

Then counsell take they fitting theyr desire,  
 (For nought that fits not theyr desire is wayghd)  
 The Duke is straight aduised to retyre  
 Into the bounds of Wales to leauy ayde;  
 Which vnder smooth pretence he doth require  
 T' amoue such persons as the state betrayd,  
 And to redresse th'oppression of the land,  
 The charme which weakenes seldom doth withstand.

Ten thousand straight caught with this bait of breth  
 Are towards greater lookt-for forces led,  
 Whose power the King by all meanes trauaileth  
 In theyr arising to haue ruined:  
 But theyr preuenting head so compasseth,  
 That all ambushments warilie are fled,  
 Refusing ought to hazard by the way,  
 Keeping his greatnes for a greater day.

And to the Citty straight directs his course,  
 (The Citty, seate of Kings, and Kings cheefe grace)  
 Where finding of his entertainment worse  
 By far then he expected in that place,  
 Much disappoynted, drawes from thence his force,  
 And towards better trust marches a pace;  
 And downe in Kent (fatall for discontents)  
 Nere to thy banks fayre Thames doth pitch his Tents.  
 And



29

And there intrencht, plants his Artillery,  
 Artillery th' infernall instrument,  
 New brought from hell to scourge mortality  
 With hideous roring, and astonishment:  
 Engin of horror, fram'd to terrific  
 And teare the earth, and strongest Towers to rent;  
 Torment of Thunder, made to mock the skyes,  
 As more of power in our calamities:

30

O if the fire subtile *Promethius* brought  
 Stolne out of heauen, did so afflict mankind,  
 That euer since plagu'd wyth a curious thought  
 Of styrring search, could neuer quiet find;  
 What hath he done who now by stealth hath got  
 Lightning and Thunder, both in wondrous kind?  
 What plague deserues so proude an enterprize?  
 Tell Muse, and how it came, and in what wise.

31

It was the tyme when fayre *Europa* sate  
 With many goodly Diadems adrest,  
 And all her parts in flourishing estate  
 Lay beautifull, in order at their rest:  
 No swelling member vnproportionate  
 Growne out of forme, sought to disturbe the rest:  
 The lesse, subsisting by the greater's might,  
 The greater, by the lesser kept vpright,

No noyse of tumult euer wak'd them all,  
 Onely perhaps some priuat iarrs within  
 For tytles or for confines might befall,  
 Which ended soone, made better loue begin;  
 But no eruption dyd in generall  
 Breake downe theyr rest with vniuersall sin:  
 No publique shock dysioynted thys fayre frame,  
 Tyll *Nemesis* from out the Orient came.

Fierce *Nemesis*, mother of fate and change,  
 Sword-bearer of th' eternall prouidence,  
 That had so long with such afflictions strange  
 Confounded *Asias* proude magnificence,  
 And brought foule impious Barbarisme to range  
 On all the glory of her excellence,  
 Turnes her sterne looke at last vnto the West,  
 As greu'd to see on earth such happy rest.

And for *Pandora* calleth presently,  
 (*Pandora*, *Ioues* fayre gift, that first deceiu'd  
 Poore *Epimetheus* imbecillitie,  
 That thought he had a wondrous boone receiu'd,  
 By meanes whereof curious mortalitie  
 Was of all former quiet quite bereau'd)  
 To whom being come, deckt with all qualities,  
 The wrathfull Goddesse breakes out in thys wise:

Doost

35

Dooſt thou not ſee in what ſecure eſtate  
 Thoſe flouriſhing fayre Weſterne parts remaine?  
 As if they had made couenant with Fate  
 To be exempted free from others paine:  
 At one with theyr deſires, friends with debate,  
 In peace with pride, content with theyr owne gaine,  
 Their bounds cõtaine their minds; their minds applide  
 To haue their bounds with plentie beautified.

36

*Deuotion,* (mother of *Obedience,*)  
 Beares ſuch a hand on theyr credulity,  
 That it abates the ſpirit of eminence,  
 And buſies them wyth humble pietie:  
 For ſee what works, what infinite expence,  
 What monuments of zeale they edifie,  
 As if they would, if that no ſtop were found,  
 Fill all with Temples, make all holy ground.

37

But we muſt coole thys all-beleeuing zeale,  
 That hath enioyd ſo fayre a turne ſo long,  
 And other reuolutions muſt reueale,  
 Other deſires, other deſignes among:  
 Diſlike of thys, firſt by degrees ſhall ſteale  
 Vpon the ſoules of men perſwaded wrong,  
 And th'abus'd power that ſuch a power hath got,  
 Shall giue herſelfe the ſword to cut her throat.

Goe thou therefore with all thy styrring trayne  
 Of swelling sciences, (the gyfts of greefe)  
 Goe loose the lynks of that soule-binding chayne,  
 Inlarge thys vninquisitiue beleefe;  
 Call vp mens spirits, whom darknes doth detaine,  
 Enter theyr harts, and Knowledge make the theefe  
 To open all the doores to let in light,  
 That all, may all things see, but what is right.

Opinion Arme against opinion growne,  
 Make new-borne contradiction still so rise  
 As if Thebes-founder *Cadmus* tongues had sowne  
 In steed of teeth, for greater mutinies.  
 Bring lyke defended fayth against fayth knowne,  
 Weary the soule with contrarieties:  
 Till all Religion become retrograde,  
 And that fayre tyre, the maske of sin be made.

And better to effect a speedy end,  
 Let there be found two fatall instruments,  
 The one to publish, th' other to defend  
 Impious contention, and proud discontents:  
 Make that instamped Characters may send  
 Abroad to thousands, thousand mens intents,  
 And in a moment, may dispatch much more  
 Then could a world of pennes performe before.

Whereby

41

Whereby all quarrels, tytles, secrecies,  
 May vnto all be presently made knowne,  
 Factions prepar'd, parties allur'd to rise,  
 Sedition vnder fayre pretentions sowne;  
 Whereby the vulgar may become so wise,  
 That with a selfe presumption ouer-growne  
 Hee may of deepest misteries debate,  
 Controule his betters, censure acts of state.

42

And then, when this disperfed mischief shall  
 Haue brought confusion in each misterie,  
 Calld vp contempt of all states generall,  
 Ripened the humor of impietic,  
 Then haue they th' other Engin, where-with-all  
 They may torment theyr selfe-wrought misery,  
 And scourge each other, in the strangest wise  
 As tyme or Tyrants neuer could deuise.

43

For by this stratagem they shall confound  
 All th' ancient forme and discipline of war:  
 Alter theyr camps, alter theyr fights, theyr ground,  
 Daunt mighty spirits, prowesse and manhood mar;  
 For basest cowards from a far shall wound  
 The most couragious, forst to fight a far;  
 Valor rapt vp in smoake, as in the night,  
 Shall perrish without witnes, without sight.

But

But first, before thys generall disease  
 Breake forth into so great extreamity,  
 Prepare it by degrees ; first kill thys ease,  
 Spoyle thys proportion, mar thys harmony ;  
 Make greater States vpon the lesser seaze,  
 Ioyne many kingdoms to one soueraignty,  
 Rayse a few great, that may with greater power  
 Slaughte each other, and mankind deuoure.

And first begin with factions; to deuide  
 The fayrest land, that from her thrusts the rest,  
 As if shee car'd not for the world beside,  
 A world within her selfe, with wonders blest ;  
 Rayse such a strife as tyme shall not decide,  
 Till the dere blood of most of all her best  
 Be poured forth, and all her people tost  
 With vnkind tumults, and almost all lost.

Let her be made the sable Stage whereon  
 Shall first be acted bloody Tragedies :  
 That all the neighbour States gazing thereon,  
 May make their profit by her miseries.  
 And those whom shee before had march'd vpon,  
 (Hauing by this both tyme and meane to rise)  
 Made martiall by her Armes, shall grow so great,  
 As saue theyr owne, no force shall them defeat.

47

That when theyr power vnable to sustaine  
 And beare it selfe, vpon it selfe shall fall,  
 Shee may (recouered of her wounds againe)  
 Sit and behold theyr parts as tragicall:  
 For there must come a tyme that shall obtaine  
 Truce for distresse. When make-peace *Hymen* shall  
 Bring the conioyned aduers powers to bed,  
 And set the Crowne made one, vpon one head.

48

Out of which blessed vnion shall arise  
 A sacred branch, with grace and glory blest,  
 Whose vertue shall her Land so patronize,  
 As all our power shall not her dayes molest:  
 For shee, fayre shee, the Minion of the skyes,  
 Shall purchase of the highe'st to hers such rest,  
 (Standing betweene the wrath of heauen and them)  
 As no distresse shall touch her Diadem.

49

¶ Though thou shalt seeke by all the means thou may,  
 And Arme impiety and hell and all;  
 Styrrer vp her owne, make others to assay,  
 Bring fayth disguis'd, the power of *Pluto* call,  
 Call all thy crafts to practise her decay,  
 And yet shall thys take no effect at all:  
 For shee secure, (as intimate with Fate)  
 Shall sit and scorne those base dissignes of hate.

Cc.

And

And from the Rocks of safety shall discry  
 The wondrous wracks that wrath layes ruined,  
 All round about her, blood and misery,  
 Powers betrayd, Princes slaine, Kings massacred,  
 States all-confusd, brought to calamitie,  
 And all the face of kingdoms altered.  
 Yet she the same inuiolable stands,  
 Deere to her owne, wonder to other Lands.

But let not her defence discourage thee,  
 For neuer none but shee, shall haue thys grace  
 From all disturbs to be so long kept free,  
 And with such glory to discharge that place:  
 And therefore, if by such a power thou be  
 Stopt of thy course, reckon it no disgrace;  
 Sith shee alone (being priuiledg'd from hie)  
 Hath thys large Patent of eternitie.

This charge the Goddesse gaue, when ready straight  
 The subtill messenger accompayned:  
 With all her crew of crafts that on her wayt,  
 Hastes to effect what shee was counsailed:  
 And out shee pours of her mimens conceit,  
 Vpon such searching spirits as trauailed  
 In penetrating hidden secrecies,  
 Who soone these meanes of misery deuise.

And



53

And boldly breaking with rebellious minde  
 Into theyr mothers close-lockt Treasury,  
 They mineralls combustible doe finde,  
 Which in stopt concaues placed cunningly  
 They fire, and fire imprisoned against kind,  
 Teares out away, thrusts out his enemy,  
 Barking with such a horror, as if wroth  
 With man, that wrongs himselfe and nature both.

54

And this beginning had this cursed frame,  
 Which *Yorke* hath now planted against his King,  
 Presuming by his power, and by the same,  
 His purpose vnto good effect to bring;  
 When diuers of the grauest Counsell came  
 Sent from the King, to vnderstand what thing  
 Had thrust him into these proceedings bad,  
 And what he sought, and what intent he had.

55

Who with words mildly-sharp, gently-seuere,  
 Wrought on those wounds that must bee toucht with  
 Applying rather salues of hope then feare, (heed,  
 Least corasives should desperat mischiefes breed.  
 And what my Lord, sayd they, should moue you here  
 In thys vnseemely manner to proceed,  
 Whose worth being such, as all the Land admires,  
 Hath sayrer wayes then these to your desires?

Will you whose meanes, whose many friends, whose  
 Can work the world in peace vnto your wil, (grace,  
 Take such a course as shall your blood deface,  
 And make by handling bad, a good cause ill?  
 How many harts hazard you in thys case,  
 That in all quiet plots would ayde you still,  
 Hauing in Court a Partie far more strong,  
 (Then you conceiue) prest to redresse your wrong.

Fy, fy, forsake thys hatefull course, my Lord,  
 Downe with these Armes that will but wound your  
 What peace may do, hazard not with the sword, (cause  
 Fly from the force that from your force with-drawes,  
 And yeeld, and we will mediat such accord  
 As shall dispence with rigor and the lawes:  
 And interpose thys solemne fayth of our  
 Betwixt your fault, and the offended power.

Which ingins of protests, and proffers kinde,  
 Vrg'd out of seeming greefe, and shewes of loue,  
 So shooke the whole foundation of his minde,  
 As it dyd all his resolution moue:  
 And present seem'd vnto theyr course inclin'd,  
 So that the King would *Sommerfet* remoue;  
 The man whose most intollerable pride,  
 Trode downe his worth, and all good mens beside.

Which

59

Which they there vow'd should presently be done;  
 For what will not peace-louers willing grant  
 Where dangerous euent depend thereon,  
 And men vnfurnisht, and the state in want?  
 And if with words, the conquest will be won,  
 The cost is small: and who holds breath so scant  
 As then to spare, tho' against his dignity,  
 Better descend, then end in maiestie.

60

And here-vpon the Duke dissolues his force,  
 Submits him to the King, on publique vow.  
 The rather to, presuming on thys course  
 For that his sonne the Earle of *March* was now  
 With mightier powers abroad, which would enforce  
 His peace, which els the King would not allow.  
 For seeing not all of him in him he hath,  
 His death would but gyue life to greater wrath.

61

Yet comming to the King, in former place  
 Hys foe, the Duke of *Sommerset* he finds,  
 Whom openly reproching to hys face,  
 Hee charg'd with treason in the highest kinds.  
 The Duke returnes lyke speeches of dysgrace,  
 And fiery words bewrayd theyr flaming minds:  
 But yet the tryall was for them deferd  
 Till fitter tyme allow'd it to be heard.

At Westminster a Counsell gathered  
 Deliberats what course the cause should end  
 Of th'apprehended Duke of Yorke, whose head  
 Doth now on others doubtfull breath depend;  
 Law fiercely vrgd his deed, and found him dead,  
 Friends sayld to speake where they could not defend:  
 Onely the King himselfe for mercy stood,  
 As prodigall of lyfe, nyggard of blood.

And as if angry with the Lawes of death,  
 And why should you, sayd he, vrg e things so far?  
 You, that invr'd with mercinary breath,  
 And hyred tongue so peremptory are?  
 Brauing on him whom sorrow prostrateth,  
 As if you dyd with poore affliction war,  
 And pray on frailty, folly hath betrayd,  
 Bringing the lawes to wound, neuer to ayd.

Dispence sometyme with sterne seueritie,  
 Make not the lawes still traps to apprehend,  
 Win grace vpon the bad with clemencie,  
 Mercy may mend whom malice made offend:  
 Death giues no thanks, but checks authority,  
 And lyfe doth onely maiestie commend.  
 Reuenge dyes not, rigor begets new wrath,  
 And blood hath neuer glory, mercy hath

And

65

And for my part, (and my part should be chiefe)  
 I am most willing to restore his state ;  
 And rather had I win him with reliefe  
 Then loose him with despight, and get more hate :  
 Pitty drawes loue, bloodshed as natures grieve,  
 Compassion, followes the vnfortunate.  
 And loosing him, in him I loose my power,  
 We rule who liue, the dead are none of our.

66

And should our rigor lessen then the same  
 Which we with greater glory should retaine ?  
 No, let hym lyue, his lyfe must giue vs fame,  
 The chyld of mercy, newly borne againe :  
 As often burials is Phisitians shame,  
 So, many deaths, argues a Kings hard raigne.  
 Why should we say, the law must haue her vigor ?  
 The law kills him, but quits not vs of rigor.

67

You, to get more preferment by your wit,  
 Others, to gaine the spoyles of misery,  
 Labour with all your power to follow it,  
 Shewing vs feares, to draw on cruelty.  
 You vrge th' offence, not tell vs what is fit,  
 Abusing wrong-informed maiestie :  
 As if our power, were onely but to slay,  
 And that to saue, were a most dangerous way.

Thus.

Thus out of pittie spake that holy King,  
 Whom mylde affections led to hope the best.  
 When *Sommerſet* began to vrge the thing  
 With words of hotter temper, thys expreſt:  
 Deare ſoueraigne Lord, the cauſe in managing  
 Is more then yours, t'imports the publique reſt,  
 We all haue part, it touches all our good,  
 And lyfe's ill ſpard, that's ſpar'd to coſt more blood.

69

Compaſſion here is cruelty, my Lord,  
 Pitty will cut our throats for ſauing ſo.  
 What benefit ſhall we haue by the ſword  
 If miſchiefe ſhall eſcape to draw on mo?  
 Why ſhould we gyue what Law cannot afford  
 To be'accessaries to our proper wo?  
 Wiſdom muſt iudge twixt men apt to amend  
 And minds incurable, borne to offend.

70

It is no priuat cauſe (I doe proteſt)  
 That moues me thus to proſecute his deede,  
 Would God his blood and myne had well releaſt  
 The dangers that his pryde is lyke to breed:  
 Although at me, he ſeemes to haue addreſt  
 His ſpight, tis not his end he hath decreed:  
 I am not he alone, hee doth purſue  
 But thorow me, he meanes to ſhoote at you.

For

71

For this course euer they deliberate  
 Which doe aspyre to reach the gouernment,  
 To take aduantage of the peoples hate,  
 Which euer hate those that are eminent:  
 For who can manage great affayres of state,  
 And all a wayward multitude content?  
 And then these people-minions they must fall  
 To worke out vs, to worke themselues int'all.

72

But note my Lord, first who is in your hand;  
 Then, how he hath offended, what's his end:  
 It is the man whose race would seeme to stand  
 Before your right, and doth a right pretend;  
 Who (Traytor-like) hath rayfd a mighty band  
 With coullor your proceedings to amend:  
 Which if it should haue hapned to succeed,  
 You had not now sate to adiudge hys deed.

73

If oftentimes the person not th'offence  
 Haue beene sufficient cause of death to some,  
 Where publique safety puts in euidence  
 Of mischief, likely by theyr lyfe to come;  
 Shall he, whose fortune and his insolence  
 Haue both deseru'd to dye, escape that doome?  
 When you shall saue your Land, your Crowne therby,  
 And since you cannot lyue vnlesse he dye?

D d.

Thus

Thys spake th'agreeued Duke, that grauely saw  
 Th'incompatible powers of Princes minds;  
 And what affliction his escape might draw  
 Vnto the state, and people of all kinds.  
 And yet the humble yeelding and the aw  
 Which *Yorke* there shew'd, so good opinion finds,  
 That, with the rumor of his sonnes great strength  
 And French affayres, he there came quit at length.

For euen the feare t'exasperat the heat  
 Of th' Earle of *March*, whose forward youth & might  
 Well followd, seem'd a proude reuenge to threat  
 If any shame should on his Father light:  
 And then desire in *Gascoyne* to reget  
 The glory lost, which home-broyles hinder might,  
 Aduantaged the Duke, and sau'd his head,  
 Which questionlesse had els been hazarded.

For now had *Burdeux* offered vpon ayd  
 Present reuolt, if we would send with speed.  
 Which fayre aduantage to haue then delayd  
 Vpon such hopes, had been a shamefull deed:  
 And therefore this, all other courses stayd,  
 And outwardly these inward hates agreed:  
 Giuing an interpause to pride and spight,  
 Which breath'd but to break out with greater might.



77

Whilst dreadfull *Talbot* terror late of Fraunce  
 (Against the *Genius* of our fortune) stroue  
 The down-throwne glory of our state t'aduance;  
 Where Fraunce far more then Fraunce hee now doth  
 For friends, opinion, & succeeding chaunce, (proue.  
 Which wrought the weak to yeld, the strong to loue,  
 Were not the same, as he had found before  
 In happyer tymes, when lesse would haue done more.

78

For both the *Britayne* and *Burgonian* now  
 Came altred with our luck, & won with theirs  
 Those bridges and the gates that dyd allow  
 So easie passage vnto our affayres.  
 Iudging it safer to endeuour how  
 To linke with strength, then leane vnto dispayres;  
 And who wants friends, to back what he begins  
 In Lands far of, gets not, although he wins.

*The Duke  
 of Britany  
 and Bur-  
 gundio.*

79

Which too well prou'd thys fatall enterprize,  
 The last that lost vs all we had to lose:  
 Where, though aduantage'd by some mutenies,  
 And petty Lords that in our cause arose,  
 Yet those great fayld; whose ready quick supplies  
 Euer at hand, cheerd vs, and quaild our foes:  
 Succours from far, come seldom to our mind,  
 For who holds league with *Neptune*, or the wind?

D d 2

Yet

Yet worthy *Talbot*, thou didst so imploy  
 The broken remnants of discattered power,  
 That they might see it was our destiny  
 Not want of spirit that lost vs what was our :  
 Thy dying hand sold them the victory  
 With so deere wounds as made the conquest sowe :  
 So much it cost to spoyle who were vndon,  
 And such a doe to win, when they had won.

81

For as a fierce couragious mastiue fares  
 That hauing once sure fastned on his foe,  
 Lyes tugging on that hold, neuer forbears  
 What force soeuer force hym to forgoe ;  
 The more he feeles his wounds, the more he dares,  
 As if his death were sweet in dying so,  
 So held his hold thys Lord, whilst he held breath,  
 And scarce but with much blood lets goe in death.

82

For though he saw preparad against his side  
 Both vnlike fortune, and vnequall force,  
 Borne with the swelling current of theyr pryde,  
 Downe the mayne streame of a most happy course :  
 Yet stands he stiffe vndasht, vnterrified,  
 His minde the same, although his fortune worse ;  
 Vertue in greatest dangers being best showne,  
 And though opprest, yet neuer ouerthrowne.

For

83

For reskuing of besieg'd *Chatillion*  
 Where hauing first constrained the French to flye,  
 And following hard on theyr confusion,  
 Comes loe incountred with a strong supply  
 Of fresh-ariuing powers, that back thrust on  
 Those flying troupes, another chaunce to try;  
 Who double Arm'd, with shame, and fury, straine  
 To wreake their foyle, and win theyr fame againe.

84

Which seeing, th'vndaunted *Talbot* with more might  
 Of spirit to will, then hands of power to doe:  
 Preparing t'entertaine a glorious fight,  
 Cheeres vp his wearied souldiers thereunto:  
 Courage, sayth he, those brauing troupes in fight  
 Are but the same that now you dyd vndoe.  
 And what if there be come some more then they?  
 They come to bring more glory to the day.

85

Which day must eyther thrust vs out of all,  
 Or all with greater glory back restore.  
 Thys day your valiant worth aduenture shall  
 For what our Land shall neuer fight for, more:  
 If now we faile, with vs is like to fall  
 All that renowne which we haue got before:  
 Thys is the last, if we discharge the same,  
 The same shall last to our eternall fame.

Neuer had worthy men for any fact  
 A more fayre glorious Theater then we:  
 VVhereon true magnanimity might act  
 Braue deeds, which better witnessed could be.  
 For loe, from yonder Turrets yet vnsackt,  
 Your valiant fellowes stand your worth to see,  
 T'auouch your valour, if you liue, to gaine,  
 And if we die, that we dyde not in vaine.

And euen our foes, whose proud & powrefull might  
 VVould seeme to swallow vp our dignitie,  
 Shall not keepe backe the glory of our right  
 Which theyr confounded blood shall testifie:  
 For in theyr wounds our gored swords shall write  
 The monuments of our eternitie:  
 For vile is honor and a tytyle vayne  
 The which true worth, and danger doe not gayne.

For they shall see when we in carelesse sort  
 Shall throw our selues on theyr despised speares,  
 Tis not dispaire that doth vs so transport,  
 But euen true fortitude, that nothing feares:  
 Sith we may well retire vs, in some sort,  
 But shame on him that such a foule thought beares;  
 For be they more, let Fortune take theyr part,  
 We'll tugge her to, and scratch her, ere we part.

89

Thys sayd, a fresh infuld desire of fame,  
 Enters theyr warmed blood, with such a will  
 That they deem'd long they were not at the same:  
 And thogh they march'd, they thought they yet stood  
 And that their lingring foes too slowly came (still,  
 To ioyne with them, spending much time so ill:  
 Such force had words fierce humors vp to call,  
 Sent from the mouth of such a Generall.

90

Who weighing yet his force and theyr desire,  
 Turnes him about in priuate to his sonne,  
 A worthy sonne, and worthy such a Sire,  
 Tells him the doubtfull ground they stood vpon,  
 Aduising him in secrete to retyre;  
 Seeing his youth but euen now begun,  
 Would make it vnto him at all no staine,  
 His death small fame, his flight no shame could gaine.

*The Lord  
 Liste.*

91

To whom th'agreeued sonne as if dysgrac'd  
 Ah Father, haue you then selected mee  
 To be the man, which you would haue displac'd  
 Out of the role of immortalitie?  
 What haue I done thys day that hath defac'd  
 My worth: that my hands worke dispisd should bee?  
 God shield I should beare home a Cowards name,  
 I haue liu'd enough, if I can dye with fame.

At

At which the Father toucht with sorrowing-joy,  
 Turnes him about, shaking his head, and sayes:  
 O my deere sonne, worthy a better day  
 To enter thy first youth in hard assayes.  
 And now had wrath, impatient of delay  
 Begun the fight, and farther speeches staves:  
 Fury thrusts on, striuing whose sword should be  
 First warmed in the wounds of th'emie.

Hotely these sinall, but mighty minded Bands  
 (As if ambitious now of death) doe straine  
 Against innumerable armed hands,  
 And gloriously a wondrous fight maintaine:  
 Rushing on all what euer strength with-stands,  
 Whetting theyr wrath on blood and on disdain;  
 And so far thrust, that hard 'twere to discry  
 Whether they more desire to kill, or dye.

Franke of theyr owne, greedy of others blood,  
 No stroke they giue but wounds, no wound but kills;  
 Neere to theyr hate, close to theyr worke they stood,  
 Hit where they would, theyr hand obeyes their wills,  
 Scorning the blow from far that doth no good,  
 Loathing the crack vnlesse some blood it spills:  
 No wounds could let out life that wrath held in,  
 Till others wounds reueng'd dyd first begin.

95

So much true resolution wrought in those  
 That had made couenant with death before,  
 That theyr small number scorning so great foes,  
 Made Fraunce most happy that there were no more  
 Sith these made doubtfull how Fate would dispose  
 That weary day, or vnto whom restore  
 The glory of a conquest deerely bought,  
 Which scarce the Conqueror, can think worth ought.

96

For as with equall rage, and equall might  
 Two aduers winds combat with billowes proude  
 And neyther yeeld: Seas, skyes maintayne like fight,  
 Waue against waue opposd, and clowd to clowd.  
 So war both sides vvith obstinate despight,  
 With like reuenge, and neyther party bowd:  
 Fronting each other vvith confounding blowes,  
 No wound, one sword vnto the other owes.

97

Whilst *Talbot*, whose fresh spirit hauing got  
 A meruailous aduantage of his yeeres,  
 Carries his vnfelt age as if forgot,  
 Whirling about where any neede appeares:  
 His hand, his eye, his wits all present, wrought  
 The function of the glorious part he beares:  
 Now vrging here, now cheering there he flies,  
 Vnlocks the thickest troupes where most force lyes.

E c.

In

In midst of wrath, of wounds, of blood and death,  
 There is he most whereas hee may doe best:  
 And there the closest ranks he seuereth,  
 Driues back the stoutest powres that forward prest:  
 There makes his sword his way, there laboureth  
 Th'infatigable hands that neuer rest;  
 Scorning vnto his mortall wounds to yeeld  
 Till Death became best maister of the field.

Then lyke a sturdy Oake that hauing long  
 Against the warrs of fiercest winds made head,  
 When with some forst tempestious rage, more strong,  
 His downe-borne top comes ouer-maistered,  
 All the neere bordering Trees hee stood among,  
 Crusht with his waighty fall, lye ruined:  
 So lay his spoyles, all round about him slayne  
 T'adorne his death, that could not dye in vaine.

On th'other part, his most all-daring sonne  
 (Although the inexperience of his yeeres  
 Made him lesse skyld in what was to be done,  
 Yet dyd it thrust him on beyond all feares)  
 Flying into the mayne Batallion,  
 Neere to the King, amidst the chiefest Peeres,  
 With thousand wounds became at length opprest,  
 As if he scornd to dye, but with the best.

Who



101

Who thus both hauing gaynd a glorious end,  
 Soone ended that great day that set so red,  
 As all the purple playnes that wide extend  
 A sad tempestious season witnessed:  
 So much a doe had toyling Fraunce to rend  
 From vs the right so long inherited,  
 And so hard went we from what we posselt,  
 As with it, went the blood we loued best.

102

Which blood not lost, but fast layd vp with heed  
 In euerlasting fame, is there held deere,  
 To seale the memory of thys dayes deed,  
 Th'eternall euidence of what we were:  
 To which our Fathers, we, and who succeed,  
 Doe owe a sigh, for that it toucht vs neere:  
 Who must not sinne so much as to neglect  
 The holy thought of such a deere respect.

103

Yet happy haples day, blest-ill-lost breath,  
 Both for our better fortune, and your owne:  
 For what foule wounds, what spoyle, what shamefull  
 Had by this forward resolution growne, (death,  
 If at S. Albons, Wakefield, Barnet-heath,  
 It should vnto your infamie be showne?  
 Blest you, that dyd not teach how great a faute  
 Euen vertue is in actions that are naught.

E e 2

Yet

Yet would thys sad dayes losse, had now been all  
 That thys day lost, then should we not much playne,  
 If hereby wee had come but there to fall,  
 And that day ended, ended had our payne.  
 Then small the losse of *Fraunce*, of *Guien* small,  
 Nothing the shame to be turnd home againe  
 Compar'd with other shames. But now *Fraunce* lost  
 Sheds vs more blood then all her winning cost.

For loosing war abroad; at home lost peace,  
 Be'ing with our vnsupporting selues closte pent.  
 And no disignes for pryde that did increase,  
 But our owne throats, & our owne punishment.  
 The working spyrit ceast not tho worke dyd cease,  
 Hauing fit time to practise dyscontent.  
 And styrre vp such as could not long lye still,  
 Who not imployd to good, must needs doe ill.

And now the greefe of our receiued shame  
 Gaue fit occasion for ambitious care,  
 They draw the chiefe reproch of all the same  
 On such as naturally hated are,  
 Seeing them apt to beare the greatest blame  
 That offices of greatest enuie beare.  
 And that in vulgar eares delight it breedes  
 To haue the hated, Authors of misdeedes.

And

107

And therefore easily great *Sommerſet*  
 VWhom enuie long had ſingled out before  
 VWith all the vollie of diſgraces met,  
 As the maine marke Fortune had plac'd therefore:  
 On whoſe hard-wrought opinion ſpight clyd whet  
 The edge of wrath, to make it pierce the more.  
 Griefe being glad t'haue gotten now on whom  
 To lay the fault of what, muſt light on ſome.

108

Whereon th'againc out-breaking *Torke* beſinnes  
 To builde new models of his olde deſire,  
 Se'ing the fayre bootie Fortune for him winnes  
 Vpon the ground of thys enkindled ire.  
 Taking th'aduantages of others ſinnes  
 To ayde his owne, and helpe him to aſpire:  
 And doubting peace ſhould better ſcanne deeds paſt,  
 Hee thinks not ſafe, to haue his ſword out laſt.

109

Eſpecially, ſith euery man now preſt  
 To innouation doe with rancor ſwell,  
 A ſtyrring humor generally poſſeſt  
 Thoſe peace-ſpylt tymes, weary of beeing well:  
 The weake with wrongs, the happy tyr'd with reſt,  
 And many mad, for what, they could not tell.  
 The world euen great with change, thought it vvent  
 To ſtay beyond the bearing tyme ſo long. (wrong

E c 3

And

And therefore now these Lords confedered  
 Being much increas'd in number and in spight,  
 So shap'd theyr course, that drawing to a head,  
 Began to grow to be of fearefull might;  
 Th'abused world so hastie gathered,  
 Some for reuenge, some for wealth, some for delight,  
 That Yorke from small-beginning troups soone drawes  
 A world of men to venture in hys cause.

Lyke as proude Seuerne from a priuate head,  
 With humble streames at first doth gently glyde,  
 Tyll other Riuers haue contrybuted  
 The springing riches of theyr store beside,  
 Wherewith at length high swelling shee doth spread  
 Her broad discended waters layd so wide,  
 That comming to the Sea, shee seemes from far  
 Not to haue trybute brought, but rather war.

Euen so is Yorke now growne, and now is bent  
 T'incounter with the best, and for the best.  
 Whose neere approach the King hastes to preuent,  
 Seeking t'haue had his power, far of suppress:  
 Fearing the Citty, lest some insolent  
 And mutinous, should harden on the rest  
 To take his part. But h'is so forward set,  
 That at S. Albones both the Armies met.

Whe-

113

Whether theyr haft far fewer hands dyd bring  
 Then els theyr better leysure would haue done:  
 And yet too many for so foule a thing  
 Sith who dyd best, hath but dishonor won:  
 For whilst some offer peace sent from the King,  
*Warwicks* too forward hand hath war begun:  
 A war that doth the face of war deforme  
 Which still is foule, but fouleest wanting forme:

114

Neuer dyd valiant Leaders so well knowne  
 For braue performed actions done before  
 Blemish the reputation of renowne  
 In any weake effected seruice more,  
 To bring such powres into so straight a Towne  
 As to some Citty-tumult or vpror:  
 Which slaughter, and no battaile might be thought,  
 Where that side vsd theyr swords, & this theyr throat.

115

But thys on *Warwicks* wrath must needs be layd,  
 And vpon *Sommersets* desire t'obtain  
 The day with peace, for which he longer stayd  
 Then wisdom would, or then was for his gayne:  
 Whose force in narrow streets once ouer-layd,  
 Neuer recouerd head, but there came slayne  
 Both he, and all the Leaders els besides:  
 The King himselfe alone a prisoner bides.

A

A prisoner, though not to the outward eye,  
 For that he must seeme grac'd with his lost day,  
 All things be'ing done for his commoditie,  
 Against such men as dyd the state betray:  
 For with such apt deceiuing clemencie  
 And seeming-order, *Yorke* dyd so allay  
 That touch of wrong, as made him make great stealth  
 In weaker minds, with shew of Common wealth.

Long-look-for powre thus got into his hand,  
 The former face of Court now altered,  
 All the supreamest charges of commaund  
 Were to his ayders straight contributed:  
 Himselfe is made Protector of the land,  
 A tytle found, which onely couered  
 All-working powre vnder another style,  
 Which yet the greatest part doth act the whyle.

The King held onely but an empty name  
 Left with his lyfe, whereof the prooffe was such  
 As sharpest pryde could not transpers the same,  
 Nor once, all-seeking Fortune durst to tuch:  
 Impietie had not enlarged shame  
 As yet so wide as to attempt so much:  
 Mischiefe was not full ripe for such a deede,  
 Left for th'vnbounded horrors that succeed:

*The end of the fift Booke.*













